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Experiences of Muslims Living in Scotland

EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIMS LIVING IN SCOTLAND

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**Scottish Government Social Research
2011**

This report is available on the Scottish Government Social Research website only www.scotland.gov.uk/socialresearch.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1	INTRODUCTION	1
	Background to Research	1
	Aims and Objectives of Research	2
	Research Design and Methods	2
	Structure of the Report	5
2	LITERATURE REVIEW	7
	Introduction	7
	Muslims in Scotland	7
	Demographics	9
	Review of Literature	13
	Scottish Muslims and Scotland	13
	Social Identity	17
	Community Relations	24
	Legislative Context	29
	Education and Employment	33
	Health and Deprivation	37
	Media	40
3	RESEARCH FINDINGS	42
	Introduction	42
	Identity	42
	Friendliness, Mixing and Distance	44
	Locality and Community	46

	College and Schools as Relatively Safe?	50
	Fears of Intolerance and Discrimination	52
	Experiences of Intolerance and Discrimination	53
4	CONCLUSION	65
	APPENDIX A: BIBLIOGRAPHY	67
	APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHICS TABLES & CHARTS	71
	APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP TOPIC GUIDE - PILOT	78
	APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP TOPIC GUIDE	80
	APPENDIX E: SURVEY	84
	APPENDIX F: LITERATURE REVIEW BIBLIOGRAPHY	90

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

RESEARCH AIMS AND OVERVIEW

This research is a scoping study to help improve the evidence base on the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland, with a specific focus on experiences of discrimination and religious intolerance. The research was carried out to understand more fully the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland both in response to the Scottish Government's wider commitment to equality for all people in Scotland, and the specific commitment set out in the Race Equality Statement.

The research specifically considered how Muslims living in Scotland understand their identity and the extent, shape and context of religious intolerance and racism against Muslims living in Scotland.

The research design employed involved a number of stages. A literature review of published research into the experiences of Muslims in Scotland and the United Kingdom was carried out. Later, a scoping survey was developed and carried out with Muslims in Scotland. Finally, focus group discussions were held with Muslim women and young Muslims.

The central aim of the focus groups was to explore the extent to which racism and religious intolerance impact on the lives of Muslims living in Scotland. It is important to note the term 'Islamophobia' was not used at all in introducing the research with young Muslims after the pilot focus groups with Muslim women identified that the term was not widely understood or accepted. An interest in experiences of racism was indicated at the outset.

This report found evidence of a shortage of research into the experiences of Muslims in Scotland. In particular, research that considers the diversity both within and across Muslim communities. This is despite the fact several writers have acknowledged there are particular differences between Scotland and England (see for example Hopkins 2008). Future research projects should aim to address this evidence gap.

Social Identity

A particular focus of the current literature on Muslim communities has been on questions of identity formation, and the extent to which religion is becoming increasingly important in the identity formation of Muslims in Britain. Whilst religion was found to be an important way in which Muslims identified themselves, religion was one among multiple elements of identity formation.

Furthermore, the literature has suggested that Muslims in Scotland are more likely to identify as Scottish compared with Muslims in England identifying as English. Primary research found that Scottish identity was typically seen as an important dimension of the identity of the research participants. However, the research participants, feelings of national belonging was conditional, and many were aware that they might be seen as an outsider. Existing literature supports this finding, that

Muslims experience feelings of 'otherness' and difference resulting in part from incidents of religious and racial discrimination.

A particular focus of current literature has been on the extent to which young, British born Muslims are experiencing specific challenges negotiating between the culture of their birth, and their parent's culture.

Community Relations

The report found that a body of current literature has centred on examining the relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim communities; and in particular, whether arguments that Muslims choose to segregate from the rest of society are well founded.

Typically it has been suggested that such arguments are often justified through reference to cultural explanations; placing responsibility with the Muslim communities themselves. Rather, a key findings of the literature is that Muslims face restricted choices and that it is necessary to understand the socio-economic circumstances of Muslim communities.

Research evidence does not sufficiently support arguments of an increasing identification by Muslims in Britain with a global Muslim community, or umma. There is evidence to suggest Muslims, and in particular British born Muslims, feel excluded from fully identifying with Britain. This is an important finding that requires further examination in a Scottish context.

When the term 'community' was used by the participants in the primary research, it referred to something local. This use of 'community' need not carry presumptions of mutual belonging or of interaction and active support systems that would be found in sociological discussions of the term. It may simply refer to a critical mass, sufficient numbers to be a visible presence in the locality. Some young participants noted that areas with higher concentrations of Muslims often felt more comfortable, or places where they were more likely to survive.

Further, the primary research found evidence of a separation of young people into friendship groups based on their ethnicity and religion. Many of the research participants acknowledged that the friends they spend most time with or were closest to were people like themselves in ethnic and religious background.

Experiences of Intolerance and Discrimination

A picture emerged from the literature that Muslim communities, both within Scotland and across Britain, report experiencing incidences of religious discrimination and racial discrimination, supporting arguments of a 'double burden'. Findings from the focus groups highlighted that there is a perception that the prevalence of such discrimination has increased in response to global events. Awareness of the stereotyping of Muslims sometimes seemed to create a sense of the lurking possibility of racism.

For many of the research participants, their area of residence was a site of unpleasant encounters. On the streets and in their everyday navigation of the city, most participants had had some experience of unfriendliness and hostility that they saw as unequivocally racist.

For some young women the most common incidents involved unwanted intrusive attention from men, sexism or sexual harassment rather than racism. All the groups of women spoke of encountering another form of 'looks' that they described as people reacting to the *hijab* as a marker of their Muslim identity by making them feel uncomfortable and unwelcome. In some areas, both young women and men were subjected to frequent racist insults. Experience ranged, according to place of residence, from frequent physical intrusions and regular verbal abuse to almost never experiencing even verbal insults.

The term 'Islamophobia' was not familiar to the participants and there was typically a strong reaction against the term from the Muslim women and when the term was raised by the young Muslims. Typically, the participants saw the term as in itself a form of stereotyping. The issue of fear of and misunderstanding of Islam was seen as a problem in all of the focus groups and the problem was typically raised without reference to the term 'Islamophobia' and independently of any discussion of that term. A sense that their religion was little understood and often misrepresented to the detriment of Muslims permeated the discussions and emerged when discussing a range of topics.

The primary research found that the participants' understandings of religious discrimination recognised the interaction between their localities and global events. They were acutely aware of negative stereotyping of Muslims which link Islam and terrorism in global circulation and stressed the local impact of these stereotypes. In addition, the women suggested there is a general mistrust of religion in Britain.

Typically, the research participants wished that others would learn more about their religion. The participants lamented ignorance of their basic beliefs and lack of reciprocity in affording the Islamic faith the respect that they were taught to show for other religions, teachers and elders. While some were aware of anti-racist campaigns and appreciative of actions against racism, many felt little was being done to combat anti-Muslim sentiments.

It was widely felt that education could help improve relations between communities, alongside greater support for the participation of Muslim women and young people in civic society.

1 INTRODUCTION

Background to the Research

1.1 The Scottish Government is committed to the principle that no one should be denied opportunities because of their race or ethnicity, their disability, their gender or sexual orientation, their age or religion. Further, the Scottish Government is committed to evidence-based policy making. Ensuring that we develop a good evidence base is key to creating public policies which understand and respond to the needs of people in Scotland. In addition, findings from the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey have shown that whilst discriminatory attitudes to certain groups of people have declined in recent years, discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims in Scotland seem to have become more common (Bromley et al 2007). It is estimated that there are 75,300¹ (1.5%) Muslims living in Scotland, the majority of whom live in predominately urban areas.

The Equality Act 2010

1.2 The equality legislation framework has recently changed. The UK Government's Equality Act received Royal Assent in April 2010. This is a major piece of legislation which consolidates, strengthens and harmonises the current equality legislation into a single approach, including a new single equality duty. This new duty will apply widely across the public sector. It brings together the existing race, disability and gender duties and also covers other areas: sexual orientation, age, pregnancy and maternity, gender reassignment and religion and belief.

1.3 The single equality duty, like the gender, race and disability duties, has two main components: the general duty and the specific duties. The general duty sets out the main objectives of each of the duties, whilst the specific duties are the steps that public bodies have to take to help them to meet the general duty. The specific duties will be underpinned by the requirement that public authorities should consider all relevant available evidence.

Race Equality Statement

1.4 The Scottish Government Race Equality Statement² published in 2008 committed the Scottish Government to improving the evidence base on issues of race and faith equality and discrimination to assist with policy development at both national and local level.

1.5 This research is a scoping study to help improve the evidence base on the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland, with a specific focus on experiences of discrimination and religious intolerance. The research was carried out to understand more fully the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland both in response to the

¹ Source Annual Population Survey 2009, see <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Labour-Market/APS2008/Q/EditMode/on/ForceUpdate/on>

² See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Equality/18934/RaceEqualityStatement>

Scottish Government's wider commitment to equality for all people in Scotland, and the specific commitment set out in the Race Equality Statement.

Aims and Objectives of Research

1.6 The aim of this programme of work is to understand more fully the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland.

The research specifically considered:

- How Muslims living in Scotland understand their identity
- What is the extent, shape and context of religious intolerance³ and racism against Muslims living in Scotland
- Whether and how experiences differ by age and gender
- How Muslims living in Scotland make sense of and deal with experiences of religious intolerance and racism

Research Design and Methods

1.7 With the aim of understanding the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland, this research employed mainly qualitative research methods that offered an in-depth exploration into the ways Muslims in Scotland understand and account for their experiences. The research design involved a number of stages:

- A literature review of published research into the experiences of Muslims in Scotland and the United Kingdom.
- A scoping survey carried out with Muslims in Scotland.
- Focus group discussions with Muslim women and young Muslims

Literature Review

1.8 A review was carried out to identify and examine existing research evidence into experiences of Muslims in Scotland. The review drew upon published literature between the period 1999 to 2010⁴. The research material was gathered through a number of methods. These included the use of bibliographic search engines as well as accessing publications through academic and professional organisations and networks. A set of criteria for including and excluding studies based mainly on the type and quality of the studies was developed. This led to the identification of 50 relevant publications, some of which referred to the same study. The resulting bibliography, including methodology used, location and sample is summarised in appendix F.

1.9 The research studies identified have been funded by a range of sources, including local and central government, research councils and charities. Initially, the review focused on research carried out in Scotland. However, this highlighted that limited research has been published on the experience of Muslims living in Scotland. The literature search was widened to include academic publications into experiences

³ The term intolerance in this report refers to an unwillingness to accept the religious beliefs and/or practices of others. The term refers to both discriminatory behaviours and acts as well as prejudicial attitudes.

⁴ There are a number of exceptions to this. See bibliography, appendix A.

of Muslims in Britain, reports from UK governmental bodies, European Union organisations and UK-based independent organisations. While many reports claimed to be representative of the UK, a closer examination of the places of data collection often revealed an exclusive focus on England.

1.10 A key academic in this field was commissioned to carry out a peer review of the findings from the literature search. This was to ensure there was independent scrutiny of the findings from an expert in this field, and to offer quality assurance. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the research literature identified has not been subjected to rigorous methodological assessment as part of this review.

1.11 Most of the studies identified in this review employ qualitative methodologies, primarily interviews, focus groups and observation. Others employ mixed methods, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. Most EU organisation reports employed a case-study methodology and selected cities with a high density of Muslims which are situated in England rather than Scotland.

1.12 This finding supported the need to carry out primary research to begin to better understand the extent, shape and context of experiences of discrimination and religious intolerance against Muslims in Scotland.

Survey

1.13 Based on the knowledge that there was limited information into the experiences of religious intolerance against Muslims in Scotland it was clear that there was a need to establish whether religious intolerance and discrimination is a problem for Muslims in Scotland. A survey was developed as part of this research to begin to explore the extent, shape and context of discrimination and religious intolerance against Muslims in Scotland.

1.14 The survey was sent out to Mosque communities who then distributed the survey to members of their community. The survey asked a range of questions including, details about where the participant lived, their experiences of religious intolerance, questions about how they see their identity, and their awareness of interfaith work. A copy of the survey is attached (see appendix E).

1.15 In total, 106 participants completed the survey. There was a good spread of age groups and gender. The majority of participants lived in an urban area of Scotland (76%) compared with 20% living in a rural area. The results demonstrated that younger participants were more likely to perceive religious intolerance to be a serious problem in Scotland. Further, participants thought that Muslim women and Muslims wearing religious dress were likely to be susceptible to incidents of religious intolerance. The majority of participants (71%) had experienced an incident of religious intolerance and many answered that there had been a psychological impact on them as a result (58%) and felt uncomfortable in unknown and public places (53%). Among the psychological consequences listed were 'depression', 'always looking over my shoulder', 'feeling shame' and 'feeling foreign' among others. The results also demonstrated the importance of religious identity to the participants.

1.16 The findings from the survey helped to inform the focus group topic guide. The survey highlighted that further information was needed to gain a more detailed understanding of the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland. In addition, the survey showed that we needed to better understand the experiences of religious intolerance against Muslims in Scotland.

Focus Group Discussions with Muslims in Scotland

1.17 With the aim of the research being to understand more fully the experiences of Muslims living in Scotland, focus groups were employed to enable in-depth information to be generated into the experiences of Muslims from their perspective. The findings from the survey helped inform the decision to recruit Muslim women and young Muslims as participants of this research.

1.18 Two focus groups were arranged with Muslim women in the Central Belt region of Scotland. Six focus groups were then arranged with young Muslims in the Central Belt region, four in a Central Belt urban secondary school with an ethnically mixed population and two in a Further Education college. Due to time constraints, it was decided that recruiting young people through their attendance at school and college would offer the best opportunity.

1.19 The discussions with Muslim women were held with two groups of women involving a total of 9 women. The women were recruited through contacts with Muslim women's organisations in the area. These focus groups acted as a pilot to the subsequent focus groups with young Muslims. Piloting the focus group topic guide highlighted that the term 'Islamophobia' was not acceptable to the participants. In addition, piloting helped identify that the length of the topic guide needed to be shortened. A copy of the initial topic guide is attached (see appendix C).

1.20 School-based discussions were held with two groups of Muslim young women, involving a total of 14 young women and two groups of Muslim young men, a total of 13 young men. All were aged between 16 and 18. Systematic data were not gathered about the socio-economic characteristics of their parents or residence histories but questions about their place of residence indicated they were drawn from poorer and wealthier parts of the city. The discussions indicate that many of the school pupils were children of long-term residents and well established ethnic minority communities but the groups also included some young people of more recent immigrant and asylum seeking families. In addition, arrangements were made to conduct two focus groups in a college with Muslim young people studying English as a second language. By definition, this was an in-migrant population and largely of asylum seekers. This resulted in a group discussion with 8 young men. Unfortunately, the recruitment procedures were less successful concerning young women and only one young asylum-seeking woman was interviewed.

1.21 The central aim of the focus groups was to explore the extent to which racism and religious intolerance impact on the lives of Muslims living in Scotland. It is important to note the term 'Islamophobia' was not used at all in introducing the research as the pilot focus groups had already indicated that this word may not be widely understood or accepted. An interest in experiences of racism was indicated at the outset but the emphasis in introducing the research was placed on knowing

whether people were 'friendly' and 'fair' and the focus group was designed to get a more rounded picture of young people's experiences in school and their places of residence as a context. The focus group discussion began with questions about friendship and friendliness at school. The next section on their locality of residence began with questions about things for young people to do as a way into sense of engagement with and attachment to the place they lived. The final section moved from talking about when people were not friendly or fair to a more explicit focus on racism. A copy of this topic guide is attached (see appendix D).

1.22 The focus groups were carried out at a location and time convenient to the participants. The focus groups varied in length and ranged from 50 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes. All the group discussions were audio recorded and transcribed.

Limitations of the Research Design

1.23 It is recognised that there were certain limitations to the research design employed. The literature reviewed was a partial selection of the literature available on Muslims in Scotland and Britain. A systematic search was not carried out and it is not known how representative the literature reviewed is. A peer review was carried out by a key academic in this field, and where evidence gaps were identified these were addressed where possible.

1.24 The survey respondents were self-selecting rather than random and distribution of the survey relied on Mosque communities. Snowball sampling with willing community volunteers was employed, relying heavily on their networks within Muslim communities. In addition, instead of a pilot study being carried out, due to the time constraints, consultations were held with a variety of relevant stakeholders to improve the robustness and appropriateness of the questions. While their suggestions may not be taken to represent the views of the communities they officially represent, they were a pragmatic and workable solution to the constraints at hand. Lastly, there were limitations with the time the survey was in the field in that the survey was carried out during Ramadan. It was recognised that this was likely to limit the number of participants who were able to carry out the survey. However, this was the only time available to carry out the survey, and it had been established that there was a need to gather information into religious intolerance against Muslims in Scotland.

1.25 Further, the research design overly concentrates on the experiences of Muslims living in urban areas and there is still limited information available about the experiences of Muslims living in rural areas in Scotland. Nevertheless, it was felt that this project was an important start to begin to better understand the experiences of Muslim communities across Scotland.

Structure of the Report

1.26 The remainder of the report will be set out as follows:

Chapter 2: Literature Review - discusses the findings from a selection of the current literature into the experiences of Muslims in Britain. Firstly, there is a discussion of

the key demographic trends of Muslims in Scotland followed by an exploration of the key debates that emerged from the review of literature.

Chapter 3: *Research Findings* - discusses the findings from the focus groups discussions.

Chapter 4: *Conclusion* outlines the key findings from the report and makes suggestions about future research needs.

2 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

2.1 A motivation for this literature review arose from the recognition that there has been limited research into the experiences of Muslim communities in Scotland and in particular, the prevalence of religious intolerance and racism experienced by Muslim communities. Modood believes that the way in which 'race' and 'racism' has been understood in Britain has too often narrowly focused on black-white relations, which insufficiently capture the experiences of Asians in Britain (Modood 2005). Therefore, Modood argues that to fully understand discrimination against ethnic minorities in Britain, and the challenges faced by Muslims in particular, it is necessary to recognise the existence of 'cultural racism' through which people are vilified for being seen to embody particular cultural traits, with religion an important dimension of this (Ibid).

2.2 In addition, despite the existence of some large scale research studies into the experiences of discrimination and intolerance against ethnic minorities within Britain, it has been acknowledged that such research has often assumed the experiences of ethnic minorities in Scotland are the same as elsewhere across Britain. Therefore, it has been suggested that there is a lack of relevant research into the experiences of ethnic minorities in Scotland, and in particular the experiences of Scottish Muslims (for example Hopkins, 2008; de Lima 2005). Similarly, it has been suggested there are important differences in Scotland in comparison to England that require research to be conducted in Scotland. In particular, Sundas (2008) argues that there has been a lack of research into how Muslims think about themselves, with people of dual heritage often being overlooked by research into minority ethnic groups (see Hopkins 2007b).

2.3 This review provides a brief historical outline of Muslim communities in Scotland, as well as a discussion of the key demographic features of Muslim communities in Scotland. It should be noted that this review is not attempting to map the full extent of the migration of Muslim communities to Britain. In addition, the data in this report has largely been drawn from the 2001 census findings. The 2001 census was the first large-scale source of data available on ethnic minority groups in Scotland since 1991 and is currently⁵ a key source of data on the ethnic minority population in Scotland (de Lima 2005).

2.4 The chapter continues by outlining some of the key areas of discussions and findings from an overview of a selection of published research into the experiences of Muslims. The research sourced for this report has predominantly focused on Muslim communities in England but where possible will draw out the findings from the available Scottish research.

Muslims in Scotland

2.5 A comprehensible relationship between Muslims and Scotland can be mapped out to illustrate the complex circumstances which may have led Muslims to

⁵ The 2011 Census will be carried out on 27 March 2011.

settle in Scotland. As it has been argued elsewhere, it is necessary to understand the migration histories of communities who have settled in Britain in order to understand their current realities (see Lewis 2007; The Change Institute 2009). It is important to note that the majority of what will be discussed in this section will largely rely on the migration histories and demographics of South Asian Muslim communities in Scotland. As the largest Muslim community in Scotland, much of the data available drawn from the 2001 census findings reflect the particular experiences of these communities. Nonetheless, it is important to stress the diversity of Muslim communities residing in Scotland.

2.6 Mass migration in the early part of the Nineteenth century saw people from a diverse range of backgrounds entering the British Isles, including people from India, Yemen, Malaya (now predominantly known as Malaysia) and various other areas of the colonised British Empire (Ansari 2004). This migration was largely labour-driven, with migrants taking up employment in a number of trades and manual sectors. Nevertheless, a number of migrants also came to Britain as students, professionals, merchants and servants. From the Eighteenth century onwards, Scotland has observed a large number of students from the Indian Sub-Continent⁶ who have travelled as a result of widespread interest in Western education among affluent families in South Asia (Maan 1992). Making Scotland a 'home' was often not out of choice for these students, and for migrants generally, as the burden of cost for travel home became too heavy and a large number eventually settled. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a large number of lascars (maritime workers) had arrived in Scotland, in particular Glasgow, which was one of the largest ship building nations in the world supplying one fifth of the world's ships (Maan 1992)⁷.

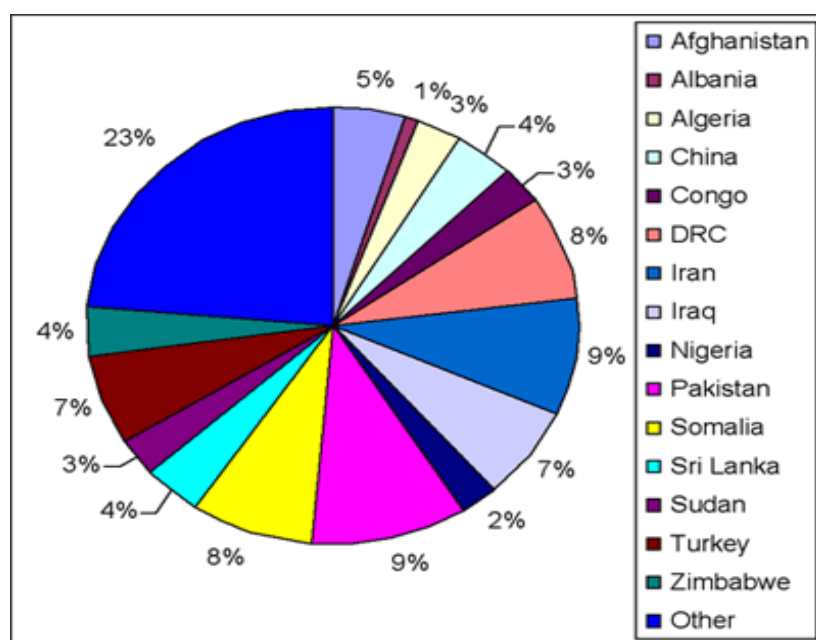
2.7 A number of academics mark the Second World War as the point at which the Muslim migrant population grew not only in Scotland, but around the whole of the UK, with the large increase in demand for labour (see for example, Maan 1992). Muslim organisations also began to grow, with the introduction of *Jamiat Ittehadul Muslimin*, also known as *The Muslim Mission* in Glasgow in 1940. By this time, the presence of Muslims in Scotland became evident, many from the Indian Sub-Continent (Maan 1992). The first mosque was established soon after The Muslim Mission and other areas of Scotland began to experience an increase in the presence of those from the Islamic faith.

2.8 The 2001 Scottish Census was the first large-scale source of data on religious groups, allowing a much more detailed profile of Muslims in Scotland. However, there are clear limitations with basing current estimates on these figures. In particular, these figures are ten years out of date. Therefore, it is important to recognise that this data will largely exclude more recent Muslim communities including asylum seeker and refugee communities who have settled in Scotland, in particular Glasgow, many of whom come from Islamic nations (see Figure 1.0).

⁶ The majority of Muslims in Scotland come from parts of South Asia, mainly Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

⁷ See <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/en/AboutGlasgow/History/The+Second+City.htm> for more information.

Figure 1.0: Main Countries of Origin of Asylum Seekers arriving in Glasgow (2006)⁸



2.9 It has been acknowledged that there is limited data available on migration to Scotland, and in particular on the characteristics, outcomes, intentions and attitudes of migrants (Rolfe and Metcalf 2009). Nevertheless, the next section will discuss some of the key demographic trends of Muslims in Scotland taken from the 2001 Scottish census findings.

Demographics

2.10 A significant difference between Muslims in Scotland and those in England stems from the routes into employment that followed the decline in the lascar and manual trade sectors. A number of migrants had become partially-skilled workers; developing expertise in various trades, building an awareness of industry and creating contacts when necessary and where appropriate (Bailey et al. 1995). After the post war period, various trades ceased or were in decline. A number of migrants began to search for prospects elsewhere. Scotland's retail and catering trade were seen as an alternative choice of career as established skills could be utilised and applied in a different context (see Maan 1992, Bailey et al 1995).

2.11 Pakistanis in Scotland occupy the largest Muslim migrant community. In 1991, almost 22,000 Pakistani nationals were residing or working in Scotland (Bailey et al. 1995), climbing to 30,000 in 2001 (McCrone and Bechhofer 2008). Muslims still account for less than 2% of the overall Scottish population, with an overall estimated figure of 75,300 (1.5%) of Muslims living in Scotland⁹. This compares to England,

⁸ Source: Information Centre about asylum and refugees (ICAR) <http://www.icar.org.uk/?lid=9982>

⁹ Source: Annual Population Survey 2009

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Labour-Market/APS2008/Q/EditMode/on/ForceUpdate/on>

where in the 2001 census 3.1%, just over 1.5 million, of the population referred to their religious identity as Muslim¹⁰.

2.12 Pakistanis comprised 67% of the Scottish Muslim population in 2001 (see figure 1.1, appendix B). Figure 1.1 shows that non-indigenous religious groups in Scotland are the most diverse in terms of ethnic background. Considering they represent a very small number of the overall Scottish population, Muslims in Scotland made up 45% of the non-Christian religious population in 2001 (see Figure 1.2, appendix B). Principally, figure 1.1 highlights the diversity of the Muslim population in Scotland thereby reinforcing that there is not a homogenous Muslim community. Research into the experiences of Muslims in Scotland needs to recognise this diversity, and suggests a serious limitation of research that focuses solely on the South Asian Muslim communities.

2.13 People brought up as Muslims were the least likely group to change religious affiliation or declare no religious affiliation, at only 2%. Table 1.0 explores this further (see appendix B), highlighting the importance of religious affiliation and religion for Muslims in Scotland.

Age Profiles

2.14 Among all the religious groups in Scotland in 2001, Muslims had the largest youth profile with approximately 31% of its devotees under the age of 16 (see figure 1.3, appendix B). This finding was similar across Britain where 34% of Muslims were under the age of 16¹¹. In addition, figure 1.3 highlights that in 2001 Muslims in Scotland were least likely to be over the age of 50.

2.15 Approximately 65% of Muslim men according to 2001 figures were between 16 and pensionable age, and 31% of Muslim men were under 16 (see Figure 1.4, appendix B). There was a similar age profile for Muslim women, with approximately 62% between 16 and pensionable age and 33% under 16 (see Figure 1.5, appendix B). However, distinctions exist between different age groups, with Muslim women having a fractionally larger population under the age of 16 and a smaller number of people aged 50 to pensionable age. Muslim women had a slightly larger population of those of pensionable age at 4%; 1% more than Muslim men. Muslim men and women populations had the same percentage of those over the age of 74 (1%).

Urban, Rural and Local Authority Analysis

2.16 Census data from 2001 indicated a low Muslim presence outside urban areas in Scotland. In 2001, a very small proportion of Muslim families resided in 'Remote Rural' areas (this was reported as 0% in 2001 Census)¹². Further, only 3% of Muslim

¹⁰ See www.statistics.gov.uk/pdffdir/ethnicity0203.pdf

¹¹ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=955>

¹² Less than 3,000 people and a drive time of over 30 minutes to settlements with 10,000 or more.

households lived in 'Accessible Rural' areas¹³. Almost four fifths of Muslims in Scotland inhabited 'Large Urban Areas'¹⁴ (79%).

2.17 Through an analysis of Local Authority areas, the largest proportion of Muslims in 2001 were residing in Glasgow (42%), followed by a much smaller presence in Edinburgh (16%) and 7% in Dundee. There were a number of Local Authority areas in Scotland where it was reported that a very small proportion of Muslims families resided in 2001. This included Dumfries and Galloway, East Lothian, North Ayrshire, Shetland Islands and a number of others¹⁵.

2.18 Whilst it has already been stated that there has been a relatively limited amount of research undertaken into the experiences of Muslim communities across Scotland, it has been acknowledged this is particularly the case for Muslim communities living in rural areas (Frondigoun et al 2007).

Marriage, Household and Accommodation Data

2.19 In 2001, Muslims were the most likely religious group in Scotland to be married, alongside Sikhs, at 58%. They were also among the least likely religious groups to be divorced, separated or re-married. Table 1.1 (see appendix B) illustrates the differences among various religions, highlighting how those from the Islamic faith differ from mainstream Scottish religions.

2.20 In 2001 Muslim households were amongst the largest of all religious groups in Scotland, with at least one dependant¹⁶ in almost three out of every four Muslim households in Scotland (72%). Further, 34% of these families had two or more dependants. Alongside Sikh and Jewish families, Muslims were less likely than other religious group to live in a household that contained one or more dependants headed by a lone parent, at 15%. Further to this, 10% of Muslim households comprised of two families living together; among the largest figure across all religious groups.

Housing Tenure

2.21 Muslims in Scotland were more likely to live in houses or bungalows as opposed to flats or apartments, 53% and 47% respectively. In addition, 66% lived in owner occupied accommodation while 34% resided in rented accommodation or lived rent free. Interestingly, this finding differed to the picture across Britain where overall only 52% of Muslims were homeowners¹⁷. Furthermore, Muslims across Britain were more likely than any other religious group to live in socially rented housing (28%)¹⁸.

¹³ Less than 3,000 people and a drive time of within 30 minutes to settlements with 10,000 or more.

¹⁴ Population size of 125,000 or more.

¹⁵ It must be noted that these statistics have been taken from 2001 Scottish Census and may require alteration as immigrant population size increases.

¹⁶ The 2001 Scottish Census describes a dependant as a 'person under the age of 15 or between 16 and 18, in full time education and living with his or her parent(s)' (Scottish Executive, Summary Report, 2005).

¹⁷ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=962>

¹⁸ As above.

2.22 In Scotland, of those Muslim households living in rented accommodation, 51% lived in socially rented housing¹⁹. Moreover, 33% of Muslims in the 2001 Scottish census were believed to be living in households below the occupancy rating standard, meaning they were overcrowded. This finding was repeated across Britain²⁰.

Education and Employment

2.23 The 2001 census highlighted that proportionately Muslims achieved lower educational attainment levels than other religious groups. Muslims were the most likely to have no qualifications between the ages of 16 and 29 of all religious groups, and the second most likely group to have no qualifications between the age of 30 and 49²¹. Figure 1.6 (see appendix B) presents an illustrative view. These findings were supported by comparable figures across Britain²².

2.24 Muslims in 2001 were among the least likely to have gained any qualifications, and the fourth lowest group to have gained a degree or professional qualification (see group 4, table 1.2 appendix B). This trend continues throughout each age group (see figure 1.6 appendix B).

2.25 Interestingly, Muslim students accounted for 16% of all full-time students in 2001, among the highest numbers of those studying full-time which may suggest attainment levels will be higher in the 2011 census. This can be better illustrated by Figure 1.7 (see appendix B).

Employment

2.26 Muslims in Scotland in 2001 were least likely to be economically active, with only 52% of Muslims of working age in employment or seeking employment. This low figure is likely to be a result of the low rates of economic activity for Muslim women²³ (see figure 1.8 and figure 1.9, appendix B). Muslim men were significantly more economically active than Muslim women, 67% and 35% respectively. Nevertheless, whilst this was the case, Muslim men had the lowest economic activity rate of all religious communities. Muslim women had the lowest level of economic activity by religion and 45% of Muslim women in Scotland have never worked, this is significantly higher than their male counterparts at 17%.

2.27 Data from the Annual Population Survey²⁴ on local area labour markets highlights that between 2004 and 2008 Muslims continued to have the lowest

¹⁹ Scottish Executive report, analysis of religion in 2001 Census
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/02/20757/53572>

²⁰ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=962>

²¹ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/02/20757/53572>. It is important to note that this data was taken from the 2001 Census and provides a snapshot at that time but this may no longer be the case.

²² <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=963>

²³ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/02/20757/53574>

²⁴ The Annual Population Survey (APS) combines results from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and the English, Welsh and Scottish Labour Force Survey boosts. The boosts increase the sample size which means the APS can provide more robust labour market estimates for local areas compared to the main LFS. The APS is the primary source for information on local labour markets providing

employment rate of all religious groups and the employment rate has shown a marked decline since 2007 (see figure 1.10 appendix B).

Unemployment and Employment Patterns

2.28 According to the 2001 census, Muslims had the highest unemployment²⁵ rate at 13% and Muslim women are more likely than women in any other religious group to be unemployed (15%). This finding is replicated across Britain according to the 2004 Annual Population Survey²⁶. Therefore, in 2004, Muslim males had a disproportionately higher unemployment rate than men in any other religious group across Britain at 13%, whilst the unemployment rate for Muslim women was 18%.

2.29 Next to Sikhs, Muslims have the highest levels of self employment of all religious groups (29%). Over a third of Muslims (36%) in the 2001 Scottish census reported being employed in the wholesale and retail trade, followed by 16% who were employed in the hotels and restaurants sector.

Wealth and Assets

2.30 Recent findings from the Wealth and Assets Survey highlight that Muslim households in Britain have the lowest overall wealth of all religious groups (see Table 1.3 appendix B).

Review of the Literature

2.31 A number of studies have begun to explore the experiences of Muslims in Scotland, describing episodes of racism and religious intolerance, prejudiced views held by the media and non-Muslim community, and occasionally discrimination faced within public sector services (for example Hopkins 2009, Hussain and Miller 2004). The circumstances surrounding the terrorist attacks in September 2001, the London bombings and the Glasgow Airport attack have led to increased debate regarding the presence of Muslims in Western Europe. The next section of the report will discuss the findings of some of the recent literature on the experiences of Muslims across Britain.

Scottish Muslims and Scotland

2.32 As discussed previously, it has been suggested that important differences exist between the experiences of people from ethnic minority communities in Scotland compared to England. It has been argued by McCrone that there is a powerful and enduring 'Scottish myth' which portrays Scotland as a 'more egalitarian society than England'. This would suggest that experiences of discrimination in Scotland are less likely. However, Hopkins and Smith have argued that the difference between the Scottish and English situation has not been the absence of

headline estimates on employment, unemployment and economic activity. See for more information: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2009/07/28092044/3>

²⁵ People are unemployed if they are not working and they are available to start work in the next 2 weeks.

²⁶ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=979>

racism within Scotland compared to England. Rather, they argue there has been a distinctive racialisation of politics in Scotland. Hopkins and Smith suggest there has been a specific preoccupation with the religious divide between Catholic and Protestant Christians in Scotland and that this has led to “*unwarranted complacency among Scottish decision takers*” about other forms of racial and religious discrimination (Hopkins and Smith 2008).

2.33 A further difference noted by some academics is that whilst there is evidence to suggest English nationalism has an impact on whether a person expresses ‘Islamophobic’ attitudes, Scottish nationalism does not appear to (Hussain and Miller 2006). Similarly, Maan argues that the Asian community and ethnic minority communities generally have fared comparatively better in Scotland than in England (Maan 1992).

2.34 Within recent debates about social identity, there are writers who highlight important differences between the experience of Muslims in Scotland and the experiences of Muslims elsewhere in Britain (see for example Hussain and Miller 2006, Saeed et al 1999, Hopkins 2008). For example, Hopkins argues that not only are there significant differences in the diversity and distribution of the minority ethnic population in Scotland, it is also relatively middle class in comparison with the same populations in England. Therefore, for Hopkins “*issues of deprivation, disadvantage and poverty are less salient in their lives compared with their counterparts south of the border*” (Hopkins 2008). Nevertheless, the findings from the 2001 census discussed in the first section of this chapter would suggest that there is evidence of disadvantage experienced by Muslims in Scotland.

2.35 In addition, Hussain and Miller (2004) argue that Muslims in Scotland are more likely to identify themselves as Scottish than Muslims in England are to identify as English (Hussain and Miller 2004, 2006). In their study, comparing experiences of Islamophobia and Anglophobia in Scotland, Hussain and Miller established that the Muslims interviewed found it very easy to identify with Scotland. They suggest this could be explained partly because their religious identity is seen as cultural and not territorial. This finding is supported by research conducted by Masud (2005) into the experiences of Muslims across Britain after the London bombings in 2005. In this research conducted across Scotland²⁷ “*it was widely acknowledged and appreciated that compared with other parts of the country, especially England, Scotland was a tolerant place*” (Masud 2005).

2.36 Another example of research looking at the experiences of Muslims in Scotland is provided by a qualitative study conducted by Virdee et al (2006) in a multi-ethnic Scottish neighbourhood. The research did not specifically focus on Scottish Muslims but, rather, looked at the relationship between ideas of race and nation in formations of Scottish identity and, in particular, what criteria were significant in ascribing people as Scottish. The study found there were certain cultural factors which were seen as relevant by the Asian Muslim and white research participants when defining someone as Scottish. Both the Asian Muslim and white

²⁷ This research was part of the Muslim Women Talk Campaign designed to include the voices of a broad section of women across Muslim communities with events being held across Britain in 2005. Events in Scotland were held in Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow

research participants made a distinction between people they saw as Scottish Muslims and non-Scottish Muslims. Certain cultural features like accent, dress and behavioural characteristics worked to upset the relationship between skin colour and behaviour and suggested the possibility of a hybrid cultural identity (Virdee et al 2006).

2.37 For both the Asian Muslim and the white respondents it was not a person's colour but certain cultural behavioural characteristics which would signify that person as Scottish. However, in contrast, certain behaviours or cultural codes were seen by the participants as incompatible with Scottishness. In particular, some of the Asian Muslim women respondents spoke of a Scottish identity that excluded them because they wore the hijab. This was confirmed in the discussions with the white respondents who saw the wearing of the hijab and burqa as symbolising oppression and 'fundamentalism' which the respondents saw as incompatible with being Scottish (Virdee et al 2006). It was not a Muslim person's religious beliefs that prevented them from being accepted as Scottish by the white Scottish participants but, rather, religious symbols that were interpreted as signs of 'fundamentalism' (Virdee et al 2006). Therefore, Virdee et al argue that whilst there is one understanding of Scottishness defined by a racialised nationalism, there is evidence to suggest that national belonging is not out of reach for ethnic minority groups (Virdee et al 2006). Nevertheless, this national belonging was conditional on ethnic minority groups exhibiting certain behaviours and cultural codes which would allow them to be seen as Scottish.

2.38 This review found a small body of research into the experiences of racial and religious discrimination against Muslims in Scotland. Hopkins (2008) cautions against two related ideologies which he believes are evident in Scotland;

"one which sees Scotland as being 'white' and the other which sees Scotland as being free from any form of ethnic or racial tension" (Hopkins 2008).

Hopkins argues these two ideologies help reinforce the view that racism is not a problem which needs to be addressed in Scotland. In contrast, Hopkins believes

"racism is an everyday experience for many people in Scotland as it is for those living elsewhere in the UK" (Hopkins 2008, see also Maan 1992).

2.39 This assertion can be discussed further by drawing upon a selection of other research. For example, Qureshi and Moores (1999) in a study into the lives of young Pakistani Scots found the young people demonstrated a continuing sense of social difference or distance from 'Scottish people' through their use of language, using such terms as 'us' and 'them' (Qureshi and Moores 1999). In addition, Clayton argues that, in Scotland, the political discourse of national unity has a cultural dimension based on an ethnicised difference from England. The author suggests this can lead to young ethnic minority people feeling like outsiders, marginal to the 'authentic' majority in the host nation (Clayton 2005).

2.40 This finding is supported by the work of Hopkins and Smith (2008) into the lives of young Muslim men in Scotland. Hopkins and Smith argue there is a

“politics and practice of fear that makes religion a point of racial distinction between young Muslim men and other young people in Scotland” (Hopkins and Smith 2008).

According to the authors, rather than society celebrating the differences amongst its communities, Muslims in particular are being constructed as problematic; embodying a difference incompatible with the rest of society since the events of 11 September 2001 (Hopkins and Smith 2008, see also Ansari 2002; Masud 2005). This has resulted in Muslim communities becoming segregated from the rest of society and demonised.

“The symbols and markers of Muslims lives and bodies – dress, skin pigment, beards – now mark out those who bear them as both different and threatening” (Hopkins and Smith 2008).

2.41 Based on a series of qualitative interviews with young Scottish Muslim men in two urban areas in Scotland, Hopkins and Smith found the young men’s sense of belonging to Scotland was conditional rather than taken-for-granted (Hopkins and Smith 2008). Violence and harassment were part of the lived experiences of the young men. The young men in Glasgow talked about establishing a feeling of safety as a result of living in an area which had a large number of Muslim residents. The research reported that *“the young men described their experience of residential segregation as protective, specifically against the threat of racism”* (Hopkins and Smith 2008). In comparison, Hopkins and Smith argue Edinburgh, with a smaller ethnic minority population than Glasgow, epitomises a Scottish politics “hands off” approach to racism. In such circumstances the young men in Edinburgh attempted to make themselves invisible in a predominantly ‘white’ area to avoid being perceived as a threat and being placed at risk.

2.42 Experiences of religious discrimination against Muslims have also been reported in other research carried out in Scotland (see Hopkins 2007b, Masud 2005). Drawing upon research conducted by Hussain and Miller, Hopkins highlights that 39 per cent of Pakistanis in Scotland feel there is a ‘fairly serious’ conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland (Hopkins 2007b). In addition, research carried out by Masud (2005) found that Muslims living in rural and isolated areas in Scotland experienced more harassment than Muslims in urban areas (Masud 2005).

2.43 This section has explored a selection of the literature that has been identified into the experiences of Muslim communities with a specific focus on Scotland. The rest of this chapter will explore the key themes which emerged from the full body of literature identified by this review. Where possible, Scottish research will be highlighted.

Scottish Muslims and Scotland – Key Points

- It has been suggested that important differences exist between the experiences of ethnic minority communities in Scotland compared with England. Nevertheless, the literature presents a mixed picture.
- There is evidence that experiences of racial and religious discrimination against Muslims are a problem in Scotland as they are elsewhere in the United Kingdom.
- Research by Hussain and Miller (2006) found that whilst English nationalism does appear to have an impact on whether a person expresses 'Islamophobic' attitudes, this is not the case for Scottish nationalism.
- Research found that Muslims in Scotland are more likely to identify with Scotland than Muslims in England are with England (Hussain and Miller 2006)
- Nevertheless, research has suggested that whether or not people from ethnic minority communities are accepted as Scottish is conditional on ethnic minority groups exhibiting certain behaviours and cultural codes which would allow them to be seen as Scottish (Virdee et al 2006).

Social Identity

Religious Identity

2.44 Much of the recent literature on Muslims in Britain has focused upon questions of social identity formation and, in particular, the extent to which there is evidence of a trend towards the increasing importance of religion as a key dimension of British Muslims' social identity (see for example Saeed et al 1999; Hopkins 2007a; Garland et al 2005; Sundas 2008). A key theme which emerged from the literature was that religion is one of several important dimensions of British Muslims' social identity.

2.45 In a study of the way in which Glasgow Pakistani teenagers spoke about their identity, Saeed et al (1999) found that for the majority of the teenagers their religion was important in defining their identity. Muslim identity was chosen by 97% of the sample, more than double those who chose Pakistani identity (Saeed et al 1999). Perhaps more importantly, the majority of respondents also referred to their ethnicity in bi-cultural terms, a finding supported by research conducted by Cassidy et al (2006). In their study of how young people experience leaving school, Cassidy et al suggest that not only were young people from all ethnic minority communities more likely to identify with their religion and ethnicity than their white peers, in particular the Indian and Pakistani participants saw religion to be very closely tied to ethnicity. The ethnic minority participants also placed high importance on their Scottish identity, on occasion more than the white participants, by referring to such markers as their accent and cultural knowledge, and when they expressed their identity they would draw on both cultures (Cassidy et al 2006). This is an important finding for

questions of data collection in that, as Hopkins highlights, singular forms of identity classifications will have limited value for respondents (Hopkins 2007b).

2.46 In research carried out by Garland et al (2005) into 'hidden' ethnic minority communities in Britain, religion was again identified as important for identity formation. Drawing upon the 2001 Home Office Citizenship survey the authors found, *"in contrast to 17% of white respondents who said that religion was important to their self-identity, 44% of black and 61% of Asian respondents said that religion was important to them"* (Garland et al 2005). Garland et al raise an important point about research that continues to focus upon race and ethnicity as opposed to religious identity, suggesting that it might only serve to obscure an important part of individual's everyday lives (Garland et al 2005, see also Sundas 2008; Hussain & Choudhury 2007; Modood 2005).

2.47 There has been an attempt by some researchers to explore the reasons behind this proposed increase in the importance of religious identity, in particular for young British Muslims. One theory put forward is that religious identity is becoming increasingly important as second and subsequent generations of Muslims become 'British' (Samad 2004 in Hussain & Choudhury 2007). This theory is offered in response to suggestions that this trend symbolises a rejection by Muslims of identifying with Britain. It has been recognised that young Muslims in particular have to negotiate between the demands of their dual cultural and multiple identities to define themselves in hybrid terms.

2.48 In contrast, Ballard (1996) argues that this growing identification with the religious dimension of identity occurs, in part, because it is this aspect that Muslims' feel comes under attack. Furthermore, for Ballard, Islam is a useful vehicle for political mobilisation because of the feeling of belonging to a global Muslim diaspora (Ballard 1996 in Hussain and Choudhury 2007). This view has been supported by Modood who argues that an excluded group will seek respect for themselves as they are, or as they desire to be, and that religion is central to how Muslims identify themselves (Modood 2005).

2.49 However, the evidence also suggests this trend of growing religious identification amongst Muslim communities should not be overemphasised. It has been acknowledged by some writers that within Muslim societies and communities divisions of ethnicity matter as much, and sometimes more, than a shared religious identity (see for example Ansari 2002; The Change Institute 2009). Indeed, Lewis argues that too often:

"journalistic and political commentary on Islam supposes that actual ethnic particularities are subordinate to the aspirational rhetoric of belonging to one, undivided, world-wide community" (Lewis 2007).

Drawing on the findings of the Labour Force Survey, Lewis highlights that 98% of Bangladeshi women and 94% of Pakistani women were married to people of the same ethnic background (Lewis 2007).

2.50 In addition, Bartlett et al (2010) stress that no single facet of identity fully explains the experience of an individual, pointing out that the differences between

ethnic groups can be less significant than those between richer and poorer groups (Bartlett et al 2010). Lewis suggests that any attempt to understand Muslim communities in Britain must recognise that religious identity is only one dimension in the formation of identity and that it is important for research not to underestimate other important aspects of identity. In particular, it is important to understand the importance of gender, sexuality, and age alongside ethnicity and religion in the formation of identity.

Young Muslims

2.51 A specific focus of the literature is on the experiences of young Muslims. An emerging theme is that intergenerational tensions are evident within some, especially more established, communities. Some authors suggest this represents a 'communication crisis across the generations' (Lewis 2007, see also The Change Institute 2009). However, Lewis cautions against seeing this communication crisis as specific to Muslim communities, suggesting that such tensions are merely part of growing up.

2.52 Nevertheless, it has been argued in some of the literature that amongst the younger generation of British Muslims who see themselves as both British and well integrated a feeling of resentment has been emerging. This resentment is targeted towards a British national identity that does not accommodate their history, diversity and values, and does not make space to allow for differences. Rather, the resentment emerges from a pressure to conform to the majority culture (Change Institute 2009). In addition, Lewis refers to a study of young people mainly from South Asian Muslim communities in an English city which found evidence of multiple challenges in their lives. In particular, he cites the 'suffocating impact' on the young people of community pressure exercised by the clan network, or *biradari*. Lewis documents evidence of a growing number of young people actively challenging their parents' cultural traditions for example, by appealing to the teachings of Islam. However, Lewis also references evidence of a growing disengagement amongst young Muslims with both mainstream society and the culture of their parents.

2.53 Consequently, there is evidence of multiple challenges for young British Muslims trying to develop a strong identity and sense of belonging. It has been suggested by Bartlett et al that such pressures partly explain the radicalisation amongst a minority in Muslim communities (Bartlett et al 2010). In their research examining the difference between violent and non-violent radicals, Bartlett et al caution against viewing all forms of radical thought as problematic, stressing that *"radicalisation that leads to violence remains a particularly problematic subset of the wider phenomenon of radicalisation"* (Bartlett et al 2010). The research compared profiles of individuals found guilty of terrorist related offences with a selection of individuals who held radical views and a selection of non-radical young Muslims. It found that each of the groups experienced a degree of societal exclusion and felt a distrust of government. In addition, many felt disconnected from their local community and experienced an identity crisis.

2.54 Nevertheless, the authors found it was not the extent to which the individuals held 'radical' views which influenced the journey to violence (Bartlett et al 2010). The authors caution that there exists no single path to terrorism. Rather, they point to a

combination of factors “*which suggest the phenomenon shares much in common with other extremist or youth movements*” (Bartlett et al 2010). The research found evidence of the considerable power of peer pressure within a group and explained that such groups comprise of individuals who do not fit into society. Further, the groups have their own internal code of honour, with those who demonstrate radical tendencies accruing a higher status. Bartlett et al suggest the thrill and coolness associated with a counter-cultural movement is also a motivating factor. They argue that for many people there is an emotional pull, which is not informed by religious knowledge, but by “*vitriolic narratives based on the notion of Muslims under attack around the world*”, coupled with a lack of alternatives that could have acted as a diversion (Bartlett et al 2010). Similarly, Lewis suggests such groups can function as a shield against discrimination and prejudice (Lewis 2007). Therefore, the factors that influence the journey to violence amongst the young people in the study were multiple and complex. Of importance for the purpose of this report was the finding that each of the groups in the study had experienced some degree of exclusion from society.

2.55 Lewis suggests there is a challenge for Imams who arrive from outside Britain to offer meaningful direction to young British Muslims (Lewis 2007). Similarly, research has found evidence of a feeling amongst some Muslim youth that the people who define themselves as ‘community leaders’ often exclude the views of young Muslims, as well as women (see Change Institute 2009, El-Nakla et al 2007, Lewis 2007). Lewis believes expressions of radicalism are not a recent phenomenon, but, rather, have agitated Muslim communities in Britain for over twenty years. Indeed, he proposes radical groups attempt to respond to the tensions in the lives of young Muslims. Crucially, both Bartlett et al and Lewis argue that the popularity of such movements will only be eroded if independent voices set out arguments against extremist ideas, and if practical alternatives exist to engage with young people. Lewis cites several examples where there have been positive attempts to confront the unacceptable aspects of such radicalism including; an informal school for Muslim journalism, Muslim Youth helpline, the creation of a youth foundation for Muslim young people and a citizenship course for mosque and school (for more information see Lewis 2007).

2.56 As highlighted above, a key theme which emerged from the literature reviewed was the extent to which British born Muslims are increasingly identifying with their religious identity rather than their ethnic heritage. Nevertheless, it is suggested that some have been able to reconcile the tensions resulting from their dual cultural contexts better than others. For some writers, there is a tension existing for young Muslims who identify less with their parents ethnic heritage but are not fully accepted as British by mainstream society, and that this explains the reason for young Muslims increasingly identifying with a pan-Muslim identity (see for example Ballard 1996, The Change Institute 2009). This review found that more research is required into the experiences of this generation of Muslims, particularly in Scotland (see Frondigoun et al 2007).

Gender

2.57 The significance of gender in the formation of social identity was a further theme which emerged in the literature. In particular it was recognised that Muslim

women experience specific challenges. According to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia²⁸ (EUMC) the most visible symbol of female Muslim identity, the headscarf or *hijab*, is often interpreted by the majority population as a sign of gender inequality (EUMC 2006). This finding is supported by Ansari who argues the dominant Western image of Muslim women depicts them as compliant and unreflective, subject to patriarchal traditions and lacking any active agency to change their condition (Ansari 2002). In addition, the EUMC reported

“Muslim women are at the centre of heated public debates concerning the role of religion, tradition and modernity, secularism and emancipation, and are often singled out as victims of oppression attributed to Islam” (EUMC 2006).

2.58 Particularly for women, cultural codes which identify them as Muslim can act to exclude them from being seen as Scottish; particularly the wearing of the *hijab* and *burqa* (see also paragraphs 2.36 and 2.37). Gale has argued that a key area of concern for research into the position of women in Muslim communities has been the way the veil has become a symbol around which Muslim women’s identities are formed and contested (Gale 2007). Gale discusses research which found that assumptions about the oppression of Muslim women are simplistically made when people encounter a veiled Muslim woman. It is within this social context that British Muslim women must negotiate their religious and cultural identities, offering particular challenges for British Muslim women (Dwyer in Gale 2007).

2.59 A number of studies have found that Muslim women have experienced an increase in incidences of religious discrimination since the terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001 and the London bombings in 2005. Researchers have suggested the reason for this is because Muslim women are easily identifiable for example through their religious dress (see Change Institute 2009, El-Nakla et al 2007). Indeed, according to research into the experiences of Muslim women in Scotland *“Muslim women clearly differentiate between experiences of colour racism and Islamophobia”* and found evidence that a feeling existed amongst many of the women that such experiences of racism and ‘Islamophobia’ were inevitable (El-Nakla et al 2007).

2.60 In contrast to this dominant image of Muslim women as compliant and submissive, research into Muslim women studying at universities in England found that the women actively asserted control over their lives, defining their identity in their own terms. Subsequently, the women favoured a notion of ‘Muslim’ identities which were highly subjective and which they felt to be more inclusive of other aspects of their identities (Tyrer and Ahmad in Ali 2008). Similarly, Choudhury et al argue that, for some young Muslim women, Muslim identities can provide a way to negotiate parental restrictions which they perceive to be located in their ethnic heritage. Therefore, Islamic teachings can be an important source of resistance to parental and community restrictions on behaviour, confirming the findings from other studies that Muslim women ‘desire to achieve equality within Islam, not without it’ (Parker-Jenkins and Haw in Choudhury et al 2004). Increasingly, Muslim women are

²⁸ The EUMC became the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights through Council Regulation (EC) No [168/2007 of 15 February 2007](#).

involved in civic participation and in providing necessary welfare services in response to the specific challenges faced (for a discussion see Lewis 2007, Change Institute²⁹ 2009, El-Nakla 2007).

2.61 Nevertheless, an overwhelming feeling emerged from a series of focus groups conducted with Muslim women across Scotland that Muslim communities need to become less exclusive, and that women's and young peoples' voices need to be listened to (Masud 2005). This was a finding common to each of the communities in the study by the Change Institute; that public authorities need to directly support and consult with women and women's groups and there is a need for more women led groups (Change Institute 2009).

Muslim men

2.62 Gale suggests that much of the research on Islam has focused predominantly on Muslim women with some work only now being conducted on Muslim men and their perspective of Muslim gender roles (see for example Hopkins 2007a, 2007b, Hopkins and Smith 2008). In a study by Archer (2003) on young Muslim men it was found that the construction of their Muslim identity was intimately tied up with issues of masculinity. In some cases the young Muslim men constructed a "strong" Muslim identity as a way in which to resist stereotypes of "weak passive Asians", relating Muslim masculinity with power, privilege and 'being the boss' (Archer in Choudhury et al 2004).

2.63 The importance of Muslim masculinity and clearly differentiated gender roles within the family has been researched by Siraj (2010). In her research, Siraj found both male and female participants were active in reinforcing the importance of distinctive gender roles; acting in ways which reinforced the appropriate roles and behaviour for their sex. In contrast to accounts which suggest there is a 'crisis of masculinity' in modern society both in terms of the changing role of men within the family and in men's relationship to work, Siraj found that the male and female participants stressed the importance of the man as the head of the household and the 'breadwinner'. The participants evidenced their views of appropriate gender roles using arguments based on 'natural differences' and through reference to a religious framework that positioned the two sexes as intrinsically opposite yet compatible. Siraj suggests that the role of the family head was an expression of true masculinity for the research participants and this masculine ideal was carefully maintained by both the men and women within the family structure (Siraj 2010).

Sexuality

2.64 There is somewhat limited literature on the experiences of, and attitudes towards, gay and lesbian Muslims in Britain, with some exceptions (see Siraj 2006, Siraj 2009). It has been acknowledged that the impact of religion on the identity of gay men and lesbians has been limited to Christianity (see Siraj 2006) In her study into the experiences of gay Muslims living in London, Siraj found the Muslim men affirmed both their Muslim identity and sexual orientation. Some of the research

²⁹ The Change Institute specialises in analysing the emerging dynamics of race, faith and identity and the impact of global changes. See <http://www.changeinstitute.co.uk/>

participants called for a reinterpretation of the Qu'ran that is appropriate for contemporary society with its changing norms and values (Siraj 2006). Disclosing their sexual orientation to family was overwhelming met with a lack of acceptance or violence and not all the respondents had disclosed their sexuality (Ibid).

2.65 Siraj argues there is a distinct separation of the sexes within Islam which serves to reinforce the 'natural order' of heterosexuality. Siraj carried out interviews with male and female Muslims in an urban area of Scotland to explore their attitudes towards same sex relationships. The research found evidence that the participants strongly believed in the gendering of their reality, with distinct roles being seen as appropriate for men and women. The participants' views were informed by their religious and cultural belief systems and resulted in the participants holding strongly critical views about same sex relationships (Siraj 2009).

2.66 It should be noted that this finding corresponds with the finding of the 2006 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey³⁰ on the incidence of discriminatory attitudes amongst religious groups in Scotland. In 2006 it was found that 52% of people who attend a religious service once or more a week would be "unhappy" or "very unhappy" if a close relative married or entered into a long term relationship with someone of the same sex as their relative. This compared with 27% of people who never or practically never attended a religious service, and 33% of people overall (Bromley et al 2007).

Social Identity – Key points

- Research has demonstrated the importance of religion in Muslims' identity formation.
- However, a key theme which emerged from the literature was that religion is one of several important dimensions of British Muslims' social identity. In particular, several writers have stressed that it is important not to underestimate the importance of other aspects of identity.
- A particular focus of the literature was on the extent to which young, British born Muslims are experiencing specific challenges negotiating between two cultures.
- A key theme in the literature was the significance of gender on identity formation.
- Particularly for women, cultural codes which identify them as Muslim can act to exclude them from being seen as Scottish; particularly the wearing of the *hijab* and *burqa*.
- Research has found that for Muslim men, the construction of their Muslim identity is intimately tied up with issues of masculinity.
- There is limited research into the experiences of gay and lesbian Muslims. It has been argued that there is a distinct separation of the sexes within Islam which serves to reinforce the 'natural order' of heterosexuality. (Siraj 2009)

³⁰ For more information see <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2007/12/04093619/6>

Community Relations

2.67 This review found that much of the research into Muslims in Britain has examined the nature of 'community relations' between Muslim communities and the wider community. The majority of this research has centred on English cities with a notable lack of research in Scotland, with certain exceptions (see for example Munoz 2006). What follows is a discussion of the main findings from a selection of this research.

2.68 It is important to note that the majority of this research focused on South Asian, in particular Pakistani, Muslims which does not reflect the full realities of Muslim communities in Britain. According to research carried out by the Change Institute 'the numerical dominance of Muslim communities from South Asia has meant that research has often masked differences between and within communities and there has been a tendency to homogenise and 'essentialise' the characteristics of these communities rather than examine their diversity³¹ as well as commonalities' (Change Institute 2009). In addition, Lewis argues that to understand the experiences of migrant communities it is necessary to explore the culture and histories the communities brought with them as well as their particular settlement histories (Lewis 2007).

A Segregated Community?

2.69 There is a body of work investigating the internal dynamics of Muslim communities, and the extent to which Muslim communities in Britain 'choose' to self-segregate from the rest of the population. Some of this work has centred on an analysis of 'community cohesion' policy. It has been suggested the concept of 'community cohesion' became popular in public policy terms following the report into the episodes of civil disorder in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001³² (see Change Institute 2009). The Commission on Integration and Cohesion, reporting in the aftermath of the London bombings in 2005, published a report that defined a 'cohesive community' as one with:

"a clearly defined and widely shared sense of the contribution of different individuals and different communities to a future vision for a neighbourhood, city, region or country" and where there are "strong positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and other institutions within neighbourhoods" (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007).

2.70 There appears to be an underlying assumption that lack of cohesion amongst communities is a problem in Britain that needs to be addressed. The following section will consider a selection of literature examining relations between Muslim communities in Britain and the wider population. A key theme in the literature is that

³¹ According to this report such diversity amongst Muslim communities includes the context for migration, different settlement histories, geographies and employment trends. See link www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/1203896.pdf.

³² Home Office (2001), Community Cohesion: A report of the Independent Review Team – Chaired by Ted Cantele, London Home Office.

these policies often fail to recognise the impact of economic and social deprivation, along with discrimination on community relations. As Jayaweera and Choudhury report, there has been a growing critique of aspects of the community cohesion policy. In particular

“a key line of criticism challenges the extent to which the focus on social capital in the community cohesion policy turns attention away from the importance of social and economic deprivation and inequality” (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008).

2.71 Ansari (2002) argues the apparent segregation of Muslim communities must be understood as a consequence of institutional racism. In a report into Muslims in Britain, Ansari evidences the way Muslim populations are largely concentrated in areas of multiple deprivation across Britain. Ansari argues the majority population often perceive this to be through choice because they mistakenly believe Islam to be incompatible with British society and British institutions (Ansari 2002). For Ansari, the combination of deprivation and mutual distrust between members of different communities is what can sometimes lead to tension. The reports published after the disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001³³ highlighted that each area affected suffered from relatively high levels of youth unemployment, inadequate youth facilities, and a lack of strong civic identity or shared social values to unite the diverse local communities (Ansari 2002). This would suggest these structural factors may have contributed to feelings of tension which resulted in the disturbances. This view is supported by Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008) who argue that research has highlighted that it is the material circumstances of families and individuals which prevents their movement out. Further, that the concentration of Muslims in inner city areas can be accounted for mainly by natural growth in the population (see Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008).

2.72 Further research has challenged the popularist belief that British Muslims are introspective and self-segregating (see for example Gale 2007). According to Phillips (2006) the picture is more complex than this belief suggests. Phillips found that Muslims make restricted choices when considering where to live; balancing aspirations to move out of deprived areas with the wish to maintain links with their cultural and religious heritage sustained by existing housing settlements, and the desire to avoid exposure to racial abuse and harassment (Phillips 2006 in Gale 2007). Therefore, this research refutes the populist belief that presents Islam and Muslims as isolationary and self-segregating. Rather, the choices available to Muslims are restricted and influenced by their lived experiences.

2.73 Analysis of the 2005 Citizenship Survey found that Muslims had a very strong sense of belonging to their local neighbourhood, also reporting that people from different backgrounds got on well together in their area and respected ethnic differences between people (Kitchen et al. 2006 in Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008). The authors concluded that the effects of religious and racial discrimination had a greater impact on the sense of belonging felt by Muslims in Britain than either living

³³ Home Office (2001), Community Cohesion: A report of the Independent Review Team – Chaired by Ted Cantle, London Home Office.

in a homogenous neighbourhood or feeling an attachment to their country of origin (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008). Therefore, it was argued:

“There is thus a need to address public perceptions of Muslims and migrants and discriminatory behaviour towards them as a key component of cohesion strategy” (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008).

2.74 The impact of discrimination on Muslim communities was discussed in other literature. In a report into Muslim communities in England, it was asserted that the meaning of integration and cohesion is not clearly understood, nor what is required of members of ethnic minority communities and the host society to support such cohesion (Change Institute 2009). Rather, there was a feeling amongst the research participants from longer established Muslim communities that they still are not accepted or valued in society and that the rhetoric of integration is often underpinned by an expectation for minority communities to assimilate. Similarly, it was evident from discussions carried out with Muslim women in Scotland that the women felt they were being forced to change their behaviour as a consequence of the London bombings to avoid being labelled as ‘terrorist’ (Masud 2005).

Islamism and a Connection with the Umma

2.75 A further theme which emerged from the literature, is that there has been a heightened sense of connectedness with a global Muslim community or *umma* amongst British Muslims (see Neilson 2000 in Gale 2007). However, recent research carried out in Scotland found evidence that this claim should not be overstated (see Hopkins and Smith 2008). In a study into the experiences of young Muslim men in Scotland, Hopkins and Smith found that there was a marked ambivalence towards the global *umma* from many of the respondents. The authors explained this ambivalence by suggesting that identifying with this global community may no longer feel safe since the events of 11th September 2001 (Hopkins and Smith 2008; see also Hopkins 2007a). Similarly, according to research conducted by Peach, it is more appropriate to conceptualise British Muslims as a community of communities stressing once more the diversity amongst the Muslim communities in Britain (Peach in Gale 2007; see also Lewis 2007).

2.76 Nevertheless, a selection of literature has focused on the extent to which there has been a movement away from a connection to ancestral homelands and ‘ethnic’ heritage towards a connection with a Muslim *umma*, and why this might be happening. For example, Nielsen (2000) argues that alongside challenging the cultural practices of their parents, groups of young Muslims are engaged in a politics of the wider ‘Muslim world’ (Nielsen 2000 in Gale 2007). Further, Gale suggests ethnic differences can be a catalyst for an articulation of a British Islam because different Muslim groups have a strong sense of both the common global and local threats to shared Muslim interests (Gale 2007).

2.77 Göle defines this political mobilisation as a process of Islamism; a social movement promoted by Muslims who live in conditions of social mobility and uprootedness (Göle 2003). According to Göle:

“because Islam is no longer transmitted by social, family, and local settings Muslims reappropriate, revisit, and reimagine collectively a new religious self in modern contexts” (Göle 2003).

2.78 Göle suggests the growing adoption of the veil by Muslim women as a symbol of Islam is a political statement. The significance of the veil has arisen as a result of this trend towards an Islamist movement advanced, above all, by Muslims negotiating different cultural backgrounds (Göle 2003). This argument has been supported by Ameli and Merali (2004) in their research of British Muslims. Ameli and Merali found that despite acknowledging the diversity of Muslim communities in the United Kingdom:

“there were many responses that indicated an attempt to overcome such fragmentation by describing a common Muslim experience in the UK, which is characterised negatively by demonisation, discrimination and aggressive targeting by government, media and policy makers” (Ameli and Merali 2004).

Nevertheless, the writers found that British Muslims did not see much, or any, contradiction between being a good British citizen and a practising Muslim (Ameli and Merali 2004). However, the respondents felt they were only partially recognised as British citizens; believing that there was an environment of suspicion about Islam in the UK and an ethnic prejudice *“which barred their recognition as equal members of society”* (Ameli and Merali 2004). Again, this is an area of enquiry that requires further research from a Scottish perspective.

Active Citizenship

2.79 Some studies argued that there has been a shift within Muslim communities in Britain from isolationism towards an ‘active citizenship’ (Hussain and Choudhury 2007). This shift has been explained by the emergence of a generation of British born Muslims (Lewis 2003 in Hussain and Choudhury 2007). Choudhury et al (2004) suggest a distinct discourse of “British Muslim Citizenship” has been developing. This trend can be understood as a positive attempt to contribute to debates on citizenship by drawing upon Islamic traditions and ideals (Choudhury et al 2004). Importantly, they stress that political assertiveness by British Muslims should not be mistaken for a desire to be separate (Choudhury et al 2004).

Community Dynamics

2.80 There has been an important body of work into Muslims communities in Britain that has suggested significant differences exist between the experiences of Muslim communities in particular between older, established and newer communities (The Change Institute 2009). According to the Change Institute the newer communities experience specific challenges to integration resulting from the circumstances of their migration and the length of time they have been settled³⁴. In addition, the authors note there are important distinctions within the communities themselves that should not be ignored, as is often the case when the existence of a

³⁴ Challenges including language difficulties, lack of appropriate housing, unemployment, educational achievement, and access to health and welfare services, challenges relating to their legal status.

discrete and distinct Muslim community is assumed (The Change Institute 2009). Within communities there are complex groups based on language, geography, class, politics, tribe and kinship affiliations that can lead to considerable fragmentation. For example, as referred to previously, Lewis discusses the importance of the *biradari*, an extended clan network, which has traditionally governed community life in the Pakistani community (Lewis 2007). Similarly, The Change Institute refers to the significance of ethnic factions amongst different groups in Afghanistan, and the clan based divisions in Somalia. Nevertheless, the authors recognise that such differences are seen by many as an opportunity for dialogue based on shared knowledge of a common homeland or shared status as minorities (The Change Institute 2009). Further, it cannot be assumed that settled communities in Britain will merely replicate the settlement patterns of their country of origin (The Change Institute 2009).

2.81 An important topic of discussion in the literature reviewed has been the extent to which the internal structures within Muslim communities in Britain reflect the diversity of the communities. The importance of the mosque as a locus of the community is acknowledged in much of the literature (see for example Ahmed 2009; El-Nakla et al 2007; Lewis 2007). Nevertheless, as discussed previously, it has been suggested that prominent 'community leaders' often represent the interests of first generation older males and can exclude the views of the younger generation and women in particular³⁵ (see for example, The Change Institute 2009; Bartlett et al 2010; Lewis 2007).

2.82 A recurring recommendation within the literature was for there to be wider engagement by Government beyond 'community leaders' who claim to talk on behalf of communities (The Change Institute 2009, Bartlett et al 2010; Lewis 2007). In the discussions with Muslim women across Scotland, the Muslim Women Resource Centre (MWRC) found that whilst the women believed Mosques had an important role to play in encouraging understanding amongst the communities, Mosques needed to reach out more to women and young people (El Nakla et al 2007). In addition, the women thought Mosques should try to address social issues affecting Muslim communities (Ibid).

2.83 In addition, Bartlett et al (2010) acknowledged that an important difference between the non-violent and violent radicals in their study was the focus placed on learning and reflection. Therefore, the research participants who held radical views, as well as the young Muslims interviewed, recognised the importance of continuous learning. The findings highlighted the significance of policy and community initiatives which allow open debate inclusive of the whole community (Bartlett et al 2010). In particular, the authors recommended that Imams be required to undertake English courses to help ensure young people have access to information and services. Moreover, Ahmed (2009) recommends that Mosques should provide outreach programmes and facilities for young people. Further, Ahmed recommended that Imams and 'community leaders' be required to undertake training to work with young

³⁵ See for example a recent news article that highlights this: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8673213.stm>

people and ensure their teachings are relevant to the lives of young British Muslims (Ahmed 2009).

Community Relations – Key Points

- This section has looked at arguments that Muslims choose to segregate from the rest of society.
- It has been suggested that such arguments are often justified through reference to cultural explanations, rather than looking at the socio-economic conditions (Gale 2007).
- The research evidence does not sufficiently support the existence of an increasing identification with a global Muslim community within Britain.
- There is evidence to suggest Muslims, particularly British born Muslims, feel excluded from fully identifying with Britain and that this requires further research in Scotland.
- It is important to understand the diversity between and within Muslim communities in Britain.
- The diversity of the Muslim communities is an important finding in the context of Scotland in that much of the current research has focused on the established South Asian communities.

2.84 This review found that remainder of the literature analysed could be grouped according to the following themes; the legislative context, education and employment, health and deprivation, and the media. The next section shall consider each of these in turn.

Legislative Context

2.85 This section will examine some of the debates on the development of current anti-discrimination legislation³⁶ for religious communities.

2.86 Abdul Bari (2005) argues that current legislation has developed in piecemeal fashion, and is insufficient in protecting Muslims and supporting equal opportunities (Abdul Bari 2005; see also Modood 2005). Muslims, unlike Jews and Sikhs who are defined as an ethnic group, are not protected under race relations legislation. Therefore, according to Bari, the issue of religious discrimination is of particular importance to Muslims. This argument is supported by Abbas (2005) who suggests the state apparatus marginalises Muslims because of their exclusion from the race relations legislation (Abbas 2005). For Abbas, the success of British multiculturalism

³⁶ It should be noted that anti-discrimination legislation has now been brought together by the Equality Act 2010. Religion and Belief is a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010. This section refers to literature published prior to the Equality Act receiving Royal Assent in April 2010.

will be revealed in part through the way it deals with the current predicament of British Muslims who, Abbas notes, face immediate problems concerning their housing, employment, education and health. Abbas contends that in recent times British Muslims have become increasingly scrutinised and treated with suspicion arguing, it is important *“to understand the ways Muslims are culturally, socially, politically and economically ostracised from society”* (Abbas 2005). Similarly, Modood argues that current liberal formulations of multiculturalism which resign religion to the private sphere of a person’s life, risk ignoring the experiences of discrimination for a significant section of British society (Modood 2005). In response, Modood believes public recognition of religious minorities is needed alongside the acknowledgement of the requirement for a renewed understanding of the importance of religion in public policy.

2.87 It is apparent that there has been comparatively less research carried out into experiences of religious discrimination in Britain than racial discrimination. Nevertheless, this literature review has found evidence that religious discrimination is a problem experienced by religious communities. Indeed, as Modood argues:

“An oppressed group feels its oppression most according to those dimensions of its being that it (not the oppressor) values the most; moreover, it will resist its oppression from those dimensions of its being from which it derives its greatest collective psychological strength” (Modood 2005).

2.88 According to Modood, experiences of discrimination against Muslims in Britain cannot simply be reduced to that of ‘colour racism’. Rather, it is necessary to recognise the religious and cultural dimensions of discrimination. This reflects the findings of research carried out with Muslim women in Scotland that the women distinguished between experiences of colour racism and religious discrimination (El-Nakla et al. 2007). Modood suggests that attempts to redress the discrimination experienced by minority groups must publicly recognise the different norms, cultures and religions of the communities within Britain.

2.89 In research conducted for the Home Office by Weller et al (2001) into religious discrimination in England and Wales it was found that ignorance and indifference towards religion were of widespread concern amongst the research participants from all faith groups (Weller et al 2001). The research indicated that Muslim organisations were more likely to say that the problem of ignorance, hostility and discriminatory practices had worsened. In addition, a consistently higher level of unfair treatment was reported by Muslim organisations than by most other religious groups. This was both in terms of the proportion of respondents who indicated that ‘some unfair treatment’ had been experienced, and the proportion who indicated that the experiences were frequent rather than occasional (Weller et al 2001). The majority of Muslim organisations reported that their members experienced unfair treatment in every aspect of their lives including: education, employment, housing, law and order, and in all the local government services covered in the questionnaire. Experiences of religious discrimination against Muslims have also been reported in research carried out in Scotland by Hopkins (2007b) and Masud (2005) (see discussion in paragraphs 2.41 and 2.42). However, it should be noted that whilst racist incidents recorded by the police in Scotland are published annually, currently no data is published on the

religion of the victims or on crimes where the victim or any other person perceived the criminal offence to be motivated by hostility on grounds of their faith or religion³⁷.

Double burden

2.90 This is not to suggest that religious discrimination is a more serious problem than racial discrimination for Muslims in Britain. Rather, a key theme of the recent literature has been the extent to which Muslims experience a 'double burden' (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008; see also Ameli et al 2004, El-Nakla et al. 2007). This double burden reflects the fact that Muslims experience unfair treatment and discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and race, as well as in relation to their religious identity. Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008) found that some of the interviewees in their research were not sure whether the discriminatory treatment they had experienced was on the grounds of their race or religion. This finding is supported by other research for example, research conducted by the Clegg and Rosie (2005) into faith communities in Glasgow.

2.91 Jayaweera and Choudhury reported in their research that more of the established Muslim residents, as opposed to the recent Muslim migrant participants *"spoke interchangeably about religious discrimination and race discrimination..."* (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008).

Criminal Justice

2.92 Discussions of Muslims experience of the criminal justice system also emerged as a theme in the literature. Ansari found that a high proportion of Muslims and Muslim organisations reported unfair treatment from lawyers, courts, and prison officers with two thirds of Muslim organisations surveyed reporting unfairness both in the attitudes and behaviour of police officers and in the practices of the police service (Ansari 2002). According to Hussain and Miller, the numbers of British Muslims in prison increased by 834% between 1991 and 2003, with Muslims now comprising 9% of those in prison despite only making up 3% of the general population (Hussain and Miller 2006).

2.93 Furthermore, research has suggested Muslims are particularly likely to report being victims of religious discrimination or racial discrimination. For example, in a survey carried out by several Muslim organisations³⁸, found that 80% of respondents reported being subjected to religious discrimination (Choudhury et al 2004). In addition, the Home Office Citizenship Survey 2005 reported that 22% of Muslims said they feared being attacked because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion (see Hussain and Choudhury 2007). Hussain and Choudhury also note that the impact of racist crimes on the victim can be particularly severe. Referring to the findings from the British Crime Survey 2000, a much larger proportion of victims of

³⁷ Hate crimes are recorded by police in England, Wales and Northern Ireland and capture crimes where the victim or any other person perceived the criminal offence to be motivated on the grounds of race, religious belief, sexual orientation, disability or because a person is transgender. See http://www.acpo.police.uk/asp/policies/Data/084a_Recorded_Hate_Crime_-_January_to_December_2009.pdf

³⁸ The survey findings were reported by the Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR), <http://www.fairuk.org/introduction.htm>

racial incidents said they were 'very much affected' by the incident (42%) than victims of other sorts of incidents (19%) (Hussain and Choudhury 2007). It is important to note that currently in Scotland information is not published on the number of incidences of religiously motivated personal crimes and therefore it is not possible to report on the extent of such crimes. In addition, the religion of the victim is not reported in figures on racist incidents.

Anti-Terror Legislation

2.94 Hussain and Choudhury explore the significance of the impact of anti-terrorist legislation on British Muslim communities and, drawing upon the work of Connolly and Campbell (2006) in Northern Ireland, suggest that the use of anti-terrorism powers in the United Kingdom against Muslims could be expected to enhance the sense of solidarity of the 'out-group', generating a greater risk of radicalisation (see Hussain and Choudhury 2007). Hussain and Choudhury suggest the anti-terrorism powers have disproportionately been used against ethnic minority communities. They acknowledge that, whilst statistical data is not collected on the basis of religion, according to the data collected on ethnicity between 2001/02 and 2002/03 the number of white people stopped and searched under the Terrorism Act 2000 increased by 118%, while the corresponding increase for black people was 230%, and for Asian people 302% (Home Office 2004 in Hussain and Choudhury 2007). Moreover, according to FAIR, the enforcement of anti-terrorism legislation "*has led to the victimisation and stigmatisation of the Muslim community*" (FAIR in Hussain and Choudhury 2007). FAIR also suggest this victimisation under the anti-terrorism legislation has led to an increase in the incidence of religious discrimination and racism against Muslims (Choudhury et al 2004).

2.95 In a briefing by Blick et al (2007) for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, it was proposed that the Government's counter terrorism legislation was 'prejudicing the ability of the security forces to gain the trust and cooperation from the Muslim communities that they require to combat terrorism effectively' (Blick et al 2007). Moreover, Blick et al contend that the terrorist threat has become racialised into a language of 'us' and 'them' and it is Muslim communities who have been disproportionately affected by the powers deriving from the legislation which may increase feelings of alienation.

2.96 Whilst anti-terrorist legislation has not been as widely implemented in Scotland as in England, in a study with Muslim women Masud (2005) found there was a perception amongst the Muslim women that there had been an increase in stop and search incidents across Scotland since September 11th and the London bombings. In addition, Bartlett et al argue that "*including social issues*³⁹ *within a counter-terrorism agenda risks perpetuating the perception that radicalisation to violence is only a concern within Muslim communities, and not others*" (Bartlett et al 2010). The authors suggest that social policy interventions designed to tackle the economic and social difficulties which disproportionately affect some Muslim communities should not become part of the security agenda since it can risk isolating Muslim communities and stigmatising social policy. Not only has there been little

³⁹ For example, the authors cite the economic and social difficulties, poor life chances, poor education and professional attainment and challenges relating to integration and social cohesion faced by Muslims.

evidence to suggest that socioeconomic factors directly contribute to radicalisation to violence, the authors argue that tackling such issues is a matter of social policy (Bartlett et al 2010).

Legislative context - Key Points

- It has been suggested that the development of current anti-discrimination legislation for religious communities has, to date, not sufficiently protected Muslim communities.
- A key theme of the recent literature has been the extent to which Muslims experience a 'double burden', reflecting the fact that Muslims experience unfair treatment and discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and race, as well as in relation to their religious identity.
- It has been suggested that a high proportion of Muslims and Muslim organisations in Britain reported unfair treatment from lawyers, courts, and prison officers. In addition, Muslims in Britain are particularly likely to report being victims of religious or racial discrimination.
- A focus of a selection of the literature reviewed was the impact of anti-terror legislation on Muslim communities.

Education and Employment

Education

2.97 In a report by the European Monitoring Centre (EUMC) into experiences of racism and xenophobia against Muslims⁴⁰ across the European Union, it is recognised that there are difficulties in assessing whether differences in the educational attainment of various ethnic groups can be traced back to discrimination or whether they are caused by other factors, such as different social backgrounds, or language, religious and cultural differences. Nevertheless, the report suggests that some indicators point more clearly to the possibility of discriminatory practices; in particular, residential segregation and overrepresentation in special education provision (see EUMC 2006).

2.98 The EUMC report acknowledged that there is a lack of educational statistics based on religion and ethnicity and therefore the educational situation of Muslim pupils can only be inferred indirectly through data referring to nationality or country of origin (EUMC 2006). Nevertheless, they report that in several Member States⁴¹

⁴⁰ In their report, in the absence of data on specifically Muslim populations the EUMC draw upon nationality and ethnicity as the closest proxy categories available. The EUMC acknowledged that a key finding across Europe has been *"the shortage of adequate, reliable and objective data on religious groups"* (EUMC 2006).

⁴¹ The EUMC cite Denmark, France and Germany as examples.

where a notable proportion of the migrant population are Muslims, the migrants and their descendants show lower educational completion rates and attain, on average, lower qualifications than the majority population (EUMC 2006). The EUMC refers to the 2003 PISA study on mathematics which found that in a number of Member States a comparison of the performance of “first generation” students (those born in the country but with parents born outside) with that of native students showed large and statistically significant differences in favour of native students. The study pointed out that these are troubling differences because despite the apparent similarity of educational history, being a “first generation” student leads to a relative disadvantage in these countries (EUMC 2006).

2.99 In addition, Cassidy et al found in their study into the experiences of young people from different ethnic minority groups there were considerable barriers limiting ethnic mixing among young people in Scotland, particularly at University (Cassidy et al 2006). For example, participants reported that they did not see the same students everyday at university and that they perceived a division between ethnic groups at university. In addition, the study found that parental and community expectations played a greater role for the ethnic minority young people in influencing their career path (Cassidy et al 2006).

2.100 Ahmed (2009), in a study of the experiences of Muslim youth across England, suggested that young Muslims often grow up in a working-class culture with the majority living in neighbourhoods considered to be the most deprived in England. Further, these young Muslims are often reflected in statistics as underachievers, anti-school rather than pro-school, and generally display signs of disengagement with school authorities (Ahmed 2009). Moreover, the research identified that attitudes, language difficulties, poor education background and feeling insecure with systems of school governance can turn parents away from helping children with their homework or contacting teachers and can serve to isolate parents from their child’s schooling.

2.101 This finding is supported by Lewis (2007), who suggests young Muslims are often overprotected by their families, particularly young women. Drawing upon the findings of a study by the educational charity Young Voice, Lewis reports that a recurring feeling expressed by the young Muslims in the study was the *“suffocating impact of community pressure exercised by the extended family embedded in clans”* (Lewis 2007). According to Lewis, parents would not allow their children to do something that could be considered inappropriate, which could include decisions about the courses to study at university and where they wish to study. Lewis also discusses other cultural, linguistic and religious practices which impact on the educational experiences of young Muslims. Lewis discusses the findings from a micro-study of an inner city primary school in a northern English city where it was found the school was seen as the preserve of women, with the mosque as the male preserve. In addition, Lewis highlights the continuing preference for transcontinental marriage and the huge linguistic demands being placed on young people as further impacting on the educational experiences of young Muslims (Lewis 2007).

Employment

2.102 It has been suggested in the literature that there is evidence Muslims experience discrimination in employment. In particular, Frondigoun et al argue that in Scotland all minority ethnic groups perform less successfully in the labour market than the majority population (Frondigoun et al 2007). The importance of religion as a factor affecting employment disadvantage has been documented by Jayaweera and Choudhury who reported:

“...for some time now, data has recorded the employment disadvantage experienced by Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, further analysis of the 2001 census data on religion shows that ‘Muslim men and women of any ethnic origin are in a similar position to Pakistani/Bangladeshi men and women’” (Berthoud and Bleksaune in Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008).

2.103 According to Blick et al (2007), even Muslims with degrees can experience discrimination in employment. Blick et al refer to a study by Connors et al (2004) which compared ethnic minority graduates with first and upper second class degrees. The study found that Pakistani⁴² and Bangladeshi graduates had a higher unemployment rate than all other ethnic groups (Blick et al 2007). Similarly, Choudhury et al (2004) argue Muslims are the most disadvantaged faith group in the British labour market, suffering from disproportionate levels of unemployment and inactivity, and are over-concentrated in certain low-paying sectors of the economy (Choudhury et al 2004).

2.104 Whilst acknowledging that official data on key employment indicators do not normally target Muslims, the EUMC suggest there is evidence that indicates religion is a factor in employment discrimination (EUMC 2006). The EUMC argue that the lack of success in the labour market experienced by Muslims in Europe cannot be accounted for by the level of skills and qualifications achieved. The report cites the United Kingdom as an example where information is available on unemployment according to religion and ethnicity; in 2004 Muslims in the United Kingdom had the highest unemployment rate for men at 13% and the highest female unemployment rate (18%). Importantly, Muslims aged 16 to 24 years had the highest overall unemployment rate. Nevertheless, the EUMC acknowledge that:

“although differences in wages, type of employment and unemployment rates of migrants, of which a significant proportion belongs to Muslim faith groups, indicate persistent exclusion, disadvantage and discrimination, it would be misleading to attribute this only to religious or cultural differences” (EUMC 2006).

2.105 In the European Union’s first large scale survey⁴³ into experiences of racially or ethnically motivated discrimination against ethnic minorities and immigrant communities, discrimination in employment⁴⁴ *“emerged as the most significant area*

⁴² It should be noted that not all Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are Muslim.

⁴³ The EU-MIDIS survey measures specific discrimination experiences across nine domains of everyday life.

⁴⁴ Both when looking for work and when at work. ‘Looking for work’ defined as “when looking for paid work out of all those who have been looking for work in the past five years preceding the interview.”

for discriminatory treatment on the basis of respondents' immigrant or ethnic minority background" (EU-MIDIS 2009). Whilst the survey does not specifically report on experiences of discrimination against religious communities across the European Union, the results do suggest the significance of the labour market as an area where experiences of discrimination manifest.

2.106 According to the EUMC, discrimination in the labour market was not restricted to the United Kingdom. In most Member States, Muslims⁴⁵ tended to have low employment rates for example, *"Turks in Germany, North Africans in France, and Pakistanis in the UK have employment activity rates that are 15 to 40% below that of natives"* (EUMC 2006). Similarly, a study into the findings of the 2003 Home Office Citizenship Survey of England and Wales found that out of those people who had been refused a job in the past five years perceptions of religious discrimination were highest for Bangladeshis (13%) and Pakistanis (9%) (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008). However, the writers acknowledge the difficulties in identifying the source of disadvantage. Nevertheless, this does suggest there is a perception of religious discrimination, particularly amongst people within Muslim communities.

2.107 As highlighted in the demographics section (see paragraph 2.26), Muslim women are particularly underrepresented in the labour market, a finding supported in a report by the Equal Opportunities Commission⁴⁶ (Equal Opportunities Commission 2007). Five employment gaps were identified for minority ethnic women including; their participation in the labour market, unemployment levels, progression opportunities, pay levels, and occupational segregation (Equal Opportunities Commission 2007). In addition, as discussed earlier, current debates about community cohesion often portray an image of Muslim women being held back by their culture and in relation to wearing the veil creating a barrier to their integration. However, research carried out by El-Nakla et al in Scotland highlighted Muslim women's willingness to work, identifying various barriers preventing women from gaining employment that included limited appropriate childcare, a lack of understanding of Islamic requirements by employers, poor English language skills and the women's lack of confidence (El-Nakla et al 2007).

2.108 Nevertheless, Ansari (2002) reports that increasing numbers of young Muslims are joining the professional levels of British society. Recent figures suggest there are currently over 5,000 Muslim millionaires in Britain (Ansari 2002). However, after controlling for a range of factors Ansari found that Indian Muslims remain almost twice as likely to be unemployed as Indian Hindus, and Pakistani Muslims are more than three times as likely to be unemployed as Pakistani Hindus. Further, Muslim men and women are overrepresented in the lowest income band, with almost

'At work' defined as "at work by people who you work for or work with out of all those who have been working in the past five years preceding the interview" (EU-MIDIS 2009).

⁴⁵ As noted by the EUMC, "the available statistical information refers in general terms to broad categories of migrants or breaks information down according to nationality or ethnicity. Nationality and/or ethnicity are usually the closest proxy categories available in the absence of specific data collection on religious groups" (EUMC 2006).

⁴⁶ The Equal Opportunities Commission closed on 28 September 2007 and its work, along with the Disability Rights Commission and Commission for Racial Equality, was brought together within the Equality and Human Rights Commission which opened on 1 October 2007 established by the Equality Act 2006.

a quarter earning less than £115 per week, compared to around one in ten Sikhs and Hindus (Ansari 2002).

2.109 Evidence into the causes of under-performance in the labour market is limited in Scotland. Further research is required to understand the links between educational attainment and experiences in the labour market of Scotland's ethnic minority and faith communities.

Education and Employment - Key Points

- The experiences of Muslims in the education system and the labour market was a particular focus of the literature.
- There is evidence to suggest Muslims in Britain experience particular challenges that are impacting on their educational experiences for example, the influence of cultural traditions and language barriers faced by parents.
- Muslims were found to experience particular difficulties in the labour market, with Muslim women being particularly underrepresented.
- Evidence into the causes of under-performance in the labour market is limited in Scotland.

Health and Deprivation

2.110 Across Europe it has been suggested that many Muslims, and in particular young Muslims, face limited opportunities for social advancement and regularly experience social exclusion and discrimination which could give rise to a feeling of hopelessness and alienation (EUMC 2006). In addition, whilst there has been some overall improvement in housing conditions, inequalities in housing are still experienced by low-income groups such as migrants or the descendents of migrants resulting from the inadequate stock of social housing across the Member States (EUMC 2006). Within a British context Gale, drawing upon work conducted by Beckford et al (2006) using the 2004 Index of Multiple Deprivation, highlights that one third of Muslims in England and Wales live in areas that are the worst deprived (Gale 2007).

2.111 According to research conducted by Choudhury et al (2004), the concentration of Muslims in the poorest areas in Britain is indicative of the marginalisation that Muslims experience. Further, they found evidence that Muslim children are especially at risk from child poverty, with 42% living in overcrowded accommodation compared to 12% of the population as a whole. In addition, 12% of Muslim children live in households without central heating compared with 6% of children overall (Choudhury et al 2004). Blick et al suggest *"these figures are particularly significant for the future, given the young age profile of Muslims in Britain"* (Blick et al 2007).

2.112 In research conducted by Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008) across three localities in England with a high proportion of minority ethnic residents, the authors

found that a number of participants believed there was a connection between the deprivation in their area, the poor infrastructure of housing and public spaces in their area, the minority ethnic concentration in the locality, and the inadequate investment and action by both local and national government (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008). This would suggest the research participants perceived discrimination to be an underlying factor in the continued deprivation of their neighbourhood.

Health

2.113 According to Hussain and Choudhury, some studies have suggested discrimination and 'Islamophobia' have contributed to health disparities, made worse by "faith-blind" health policies (Hussain and Choudhury 2007). Drawing upon the findings from the 2001 National Census, when controlling for age, Muslims reported the highest proportion of males (13%) and females (16%) who described their health as 'not good'.

2.114 Similarly, research conducted by Sheridan found that the terrorist attack on the 11th September 2001 had a negative impact on the health and well-being of Muslims (Sheridan 2006). Investigating experiences of religious discrimination before and after the terrorist attacks, Sheridan employed the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12)⁴⁷ to investigate the impact of this event on the health of British Muslims. The findings highlighted that out of 222 Muslims, more than one third (35.6%) displayed evidence of having a mild common mental health disorder, and 13.6% were found to display evidence of having a serious common mental health disorder (Sheridan 2006). The research found evidence of a relationship between Muslims found to be displaying a mild to serious mental health disorder, whether they reported experiencing a specific incident of September 11th related abuse and whether they would describe themselves as highly visible as a Muslim (Sheridan 2006). Therefore, in terms of this study, it was apparent that experiencing incidents of religious discrimination and being visibly identifiable as a Muslim had a significant relationship on whether the research participant experienced poor mental health. In contrast, neither gender nor ethnicity was found to be a significant predictor of whether or not a specific incident of abuse was reported.

2.115 In addition, it has been suggested that there is a lack of awareness and understanding of the needs of Muslims' within public services (see El-Nakla et al 2007, and Frondigoun et al 2007). For example, it has been suggested that often mainstream mental health and maternity services do not operate in a religiously and culturally sensitive manner. Ali suggests that the public arena is seen by many young British Muslims as a space in which Islam is frequently misrepresented, and where they see themselves portrayed as alien or even a dangerous presence in society. Therefore, as a consequence of how they are perceived, many young British Muslims do not feel comfortable accessing mainstream support services, for fear of being misunderstood (Malik et al in Ali 2008). This finding is confirmed by research conducted by Ahmed (2009) who found that Muslim youth do not approach statutory agencies for issues relating to their mental health. According to Ahmed, this is partly because they feel service providers do not understand Muslims, their religion, culture and other norms young Muslims are faced with within their own community

⁴⁷ The General Health Questionnaire is designed to identify short-term changes in mental health.

structures (Ahmed 2009). This finding has serious implications for public services with a responsibility for mental health improvement.

Disability

2.116 This review found limited research into the experiences of disabled Muslims. Again, the research covered in this section focuses on South Asian communities.

2.117 Bywaters et al (2003) have argued that, despite evidence that South Asian families with disabled children experience discrimination and disadvantage in accessing the health and care services needed:

“it has sometimes been assumed that religiously based explanations for and attitudes to having a disabled child have led to the low uptake of health and social services” (Bywaters et al 2003).

Rather, the authors contend there is no evidence to support the negative views held by some professionals and service providers. On occasion, some parents who participated in their research did refer to God in explaining their child's impairment however, not all parents explained their child's disability in this way.

“Families could hold religious explanations alongside medical ones, and although they might believe that their child's life was in God's hands, this did not usually mean that they did not want and seek assistance or strive to provide the best care they could themselves” (Bywaters et al 2003).

2.118 There was evidence that parents were more likely to provide religious explanations when they had not received much medical information, in particular where language barriers existed and interpreters had not been provided. In addition, the research found little evidence to suggest the parents were unwilling to seek help, nor was there evidence that the parents turned down support because of extended family support as was sometimes suggested to be the reason for low uptake of services. Rather, the parents described occasionally experiencing “*negative disablist attitudes*” from people within their community towards their child and were further restricted by their poor material circumstances (Bywaters et al 2003). These findings were supported by Croot et al who argued that mainstream services are not sufficiently understanding of parents' cultural, religious and spiritual beliefs (Croot et al 2008).

Health and Deprivation - Key Points

- Research in England has shown that Muslims are disproportionately likely to live in areas of deprivation, and Muslim children are especially likely to be at risk from child poverty.
- There was limited research into the experiences of Muslims living in deprivation in Scotland.
- Research found that experiencing incidents of religious discrimination and being visibly identifiable as a Muslim had a significant relationship on whether the research participant experienced poor mental health (Sheridan 2006)
- Writers have suggested that there is a lack of awareness and understanding of the needs of Muslims' within public services.
- There was little research into the experiences of disabled Muslims. However, research has suggested that South Asian families with disabled children experience discrimination and disadvantage in accessing the health and care services needed (Bywaters et al 2003).

Media

2.119 Finally, the role of the media was referred to repeatedly in the literature analysed in this review. The media was frequently identified as a source of religious discrimination against Muslims. For example, Ansari argues the media plays an integral role in reinforcing "Islamophobic attitudes in the majority community" (Ansari 2002; see also Sheridan 2006). Indeed, Allen has argued that *"the media's portrayal and representation of Islam has been one of the most prevalent, virulent and socially significant sources of Islamophobia' in Britain"* (Allen cited in Ansari 2002). According to Ali (2008) the media plays a significant role in associating religion with terrorism; highlighting the systematic way in which the media combines such words as 'Islamic' and 'terrorism'. Therefore, through the media, religion has become identified as the primary factor of influence in terrorist actions (Ali 2008).

2.120 Ali refers to the terrorist attacks on the 11th September 2001 as the point at which radical Islamism entered a new era of 'presentation' by the media. Ali carried out research into the language used by two globally available newspapers⁴⁸ when reporting on three violent attacks⁴⁹. Ali found that the New York Times made use of the terms 'we/us/our' 67 times and 'they/them/their' 72 times when reporting on the violent attacks, whereas the Guardian whilst less frequent in their use of these terms, made use of the terms 'we/us/our' 23 times and 'they/them/their' 48 times (Ali 2008). Ali is suggesting that such language helps to reinforce the popular belief that Islam

⁴⁸ The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers

⁴⁹ The three violent attacks included in the research were the attacks of September 11 2001, the bombings of July 7 2005 and the (failed) bombings on June 29-30 2007 in London and Glasgow.

and terrorism are intrinsically linked, further disadvantaging and alienating members of the Muslim community.

2.221 The largely negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the media is not a recent phenomenon (see for example Poole 2002). Alexander (2000) argues Muslim young men have emerged as the new “folk devils” of popular and media imagination (Alexander 2000 in Choudhury et al 2004). A significant finding about the perception of the media by Scottish Muslims was reported in a study conducted by Masud into the experiences of Muslim women in Scotland since the London bombings. This research found that the women participants believed the media contributed to Islamophobia and the negative portrayal of Islam (Masud 2005, see also El-Nakla et al 2007). Therefore, according to the women interviewed the way the media reported on Islam was to blame not only for the mis-education of the mass public and the increase in aggression toward the Muslim community, but also for fuelling anger amongst the Muslim community particularly Muslim youth (Masud 2005). Importantly, the women felt that in order to tackle this negative representation, Muslims needed to engage positively with the media, both as individuals but also as a community (Masud 2005).

Media - Key Points

- The media was frequently identified in the literature as a source of religious discrimination against Muslims.
- Research found that the media plays a significant role in associating religion with terrorism, by identifying religion as the primary factor of influence in terrorist actions (Ali 2008).
- Writers have suggested the largely negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the media is not a recent phenomenon (Poole 2002, Alexander 2000).

2.222 This chapter provided a brief historical outline of Muslim communities in Scotland, as well as a discussion of the key demographic features of Muslim communities in Scotland. Further, the chapter explored the key findings from a selection of the recent literature on the experiences of Muslims across Britain. The next chapter will discuss the findings from focus groups carried out with Muslims living in Scotland.

3 CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

3.1 This chapter looks at the findings from the focus groups. The results are taken from 2 focus groups carried out with Muslim women and 6 focus groups carried out with young Muslims at secondary school and college.

Identity

3.2 As referred to in chapter 2, a specific focus of current literature on Muslims in Britain has been on the extent to which religious identity is becoming more important, in particular to second and third generation British Muslims. The initial focus group discussions with Muslim women explored how the women would define their identity and the factors that influenced this definition. Typically the women tended to convey multiple identities, supporting Hopkins' (2007b) view that classifications which allow only for singular forms of identity to be recorded will have limited value.

3.3 The women identified themselves in varying ways, with some referring to themselves as Scottish or British, whilst others referred to themselves as Pakistani or Asian. Some, but not all, saw their faith as an important dimension of their identity. In particular, the women spoke of the increasing importance of their religious identity as they practiced their religion more, and felt their religion conveyed more about who they are as a person than their ethnicity or nationality. The women talked about the symbolic role of wearing *hijab* in their identity formation. According to the women, the *hijab* allowed other people to define them as Muslim. This finding supports a finding in the literature that stressed the importance of gender in social identity formation. In particular, the women spoke positively about the fact that by wearing the *hijab* their Muslim identity would be understood by others.

3.4 Nevertheless, not all the women participants placed such importance on their religion in defining their identity. One woman commented that her religion was something personal that she would not refer to when commenting on her identity. In addition, some of the participants who had arrived in Britain from countries where there had been religious oppression said that in their experience religion was not a dimension of identity to be referred to because of political sensitivities.

3.5 Typically, the women were concerned about the way their religion was misrepresented. One woman reported feeling that there had been an increase in attention given to Muslims' religious identity and was suspicious of the reasons for this, believing that recent global events had motivated this heightened attention on Islam. The global context was clearly evident as an important influence in the way the women experienced their religious identity, this was also the case in the focus groups with young Muslims.

3.6 To summarise, primary research did not support the theory that religion is becoming more important to Muslims than other forms of identity. Rather, religious identity is one of multiple identities that was referred to when speaking about identity. Further, the context was a factor for which identity would be the most important at

any given time. When speaking about their religious identity, the women often referred to the wider global context, suggesting that this has influenced the way the women talk about and experience their religion.

National Identity

3.7 It is noteworthy that several of the Muslim women in the focus groups spoke about the importance of being Scottish to their identity formation. This could be contrasted with the response of one woman who spoke of feeling unable to identify as English, despite being born in England. The woman described feeling that English culture excludes people who were not white, whereas British culture was more inclusive of people from different backgrounds. As Hopkins notes

“Many ethnic minorities in Scotland identify positively with the nation, adopt hyphenated identities of various forms and see themselves as Scottish in many ways. This can be contrasted with the ambivalence sometimes associated amongst black and minority ethnic groups for the identities of ‘Englishness’ or ‘Britishness’ (Hopkins 2008).

3.8 Typically, when explaining their identification with Scotland or Britain, the women referred to the length of time they had been living in the country. In addition, the women spoke of feeling a sense of belonging with the country and feeling part of the culture and history. Several women also referred to cultural markers, such as having a Scottish accent. This supports the findings from other studies which report that national belonging is not out of reach of ethnic minority groups (see Virdee et al 2006, Cassidy et al 2006).

3.9 Nevertheless, the participants also spoke of their Scottish and British identity in a way that suggested feelings of difference and otherness. For example, a woman who identified herself as British later explained this identification:

“I consider myself as British more than Pakistani because my history is British, my family are from India but India was colonised and it is very British and has a very strong British history. That’s why I would say I am British; my history is British and anybody who argues with that obviously doesn’t have a clue about their own history and that is the sad fact about this country that people don’t know enough about their own country and their ignorance is causing them to blame everyone else” (community group, September 2009).

3.10 In the quote above, the woman acknowledges the possibility that other people might not accept her Britishness. She defends against this by suggesting that only people with a limited knowledge about British history would not accept her ‘Britishness’; therefore it would be as a result of ignorance on the part of others. Despite seeing and defining herself as British, the woman demonstrates an awareness that she might be seen as an ‘outsider’ by other British people. Therefore, national belonging for the participants was often conditional and could be challenged by other people. This finding is supported by the research of Hopkins (2007b), which found that the young Muslim males researched spoke of being excluded from an unconditional belonging with a Scottish national identity. Rather,

the men described *“their feelings of difference on the grounds of race and religion, and their everyday accounts of racial harassment”* (Hopkins 2007b).

3.11 The women participants also spoke of the importance of their parent’s heritage in shaping their identity and, in particular, the importance of maintaining a sense of where you “come from:”

“I was just thinking while everyone was talking... inherently we are all part of migrant communities, I know this isn’t going to answer your question directly, but because we are all inherently part of migrant communities we tend to hold onto identity a bit more” (community group, September 2009)

3.12 Therefore, the participants overwhelmingly described their identity in multiple ways that typically included nationality, ethnicity and religion. The participants would often identify their nationality as Scottish or as British yet there was evidence that the participants at times felt excluded from a full sense of belonging to the nation.

Friendliness, Mixing, and Distance

3.13 The focus groups with young Muslims began by exploring the extent of friendships across ethnic and religious categories, in the school or college. As for many young people, the participants typically experienced friendly interaction and mixing across diverse backgrounds while at school, but this in general coincided with separation into informal groupings of Muslim friends from similar backgrounds.

3.14 The college participants were in classes that were exclusively of in-migrants learning English. The friendships they talked of making at college were typically with others in their class and other asylum seekers. Many were intensely keen to know Scottish people, although the limits of their language skills and the lack of opportunities worked against it. As one participant put it:

‘I must know culture in these people, what these people think, what this people try to do, yeah? Because I start life in this country’ (college, March 2010).

3.15 School pupils talked about both friendly interaction across their classes and school year, regardless of religion, ethnicity, colour or other aspects of background, and separation into distinct groupings that did not ‘really’ mix. Many acknowledged that the friends they spend most time with or were closest to were people like themselves in ethnic and religious background. In most, but not all, cases, therefore, their friends were also Muslims. This finding has been supported by research into young people which found that the social networks of Pakistani and white young people contained a high number of members from their own ethnic group (Cassidy et al 2006).

3.16 In each of the school based discussions, pupils identify separate groups that did not mix together to a great degree:

'People with different backgrounds don't really mixit's mostly you see all the Asian young men hanging about together and then you see all the white young men hanging together, then all the...I don't know how to say it, but the black... All the young women mostly all just hang about together, like Asian, white, whatever. ... We only hang about with one white guy and he's a brand new ... But he is basically black and all ... He's not black but he's basically like us because he's no way...like, he doesn't hang about with white people and all that. He's with us all the time.' (school, March 2010)

Another girl expressed a distinction between her own close group of three Muslim friends and the wider group she mixed with at break time.

3.17 Some pupils explicitly highlighted the frequent irrelevance of ethnic and religious divisions as well as having friendships that involved a degree of ethnic and religious separation.

'I talk to everyone but like I feel more comfortable talking to people like with my same background, just like...it's just one of those things. ... It's just like you feel more comfortable talking to someone the same as you, like the same religion and stuff. ... Our school's diverse I think really, so like we all talk to everyone. We don't like...like I don't leave anyone out. I talk to like every single person, because I don't see it oh I can't talk to that person because he's got a different background. I'm not like that ... Like I play football with all my friends. They're not Muslim but I play with them and they're all cool with me and I'm cool with them. There's like...it's not like kind of a racist thing between us'. (school, March 2010)

3.18 This separation of young people into friendship groups based on their ethnicity and religion was also referred to in the focus group discussions with Muslim women. One woman noted her concern about the limited inter-ethnic mixing of young people in her area:

"I see school kids, and the Asian kids are in one group and the White kids are in one group and they are probably third or fourth generation kids but they still tend to gravitate to their own and they are the future so I don't know how we do that. Integration; what does that really mean and how do you do it?" (community group, September 2009).

3.19 Questions about whether a new person coming to their school or college would find it easy to make friends and whether it would make a difference if they were Muslim resulted in discussion of the contingency of friendship. There was consensus that whether friendship flourishes or not depends on the person, their interests, how they go about making friends and their command of English. Most of the contributions to the discussion suggested that there was no automatic assumption that a Muslim person would either find it difficult to be included in existing groups or become part of existing friendship groups between Muslims. However, as well as comments acknowledging all these qualifying factors, young people agreed that being Muslim created something in common, and some felt the

shared moral framework would make friendship more likely. As one young man put it:

'What I have as a moral value, he would have as a moral value. So we would tend to get on more better.' (school, March 2010)

Locality and Community

3.20 The focus group participants lived in different types of areas in terms of amenities and affluence or deprivation within the city. However, very few described their residential environment as offering good facilities or places to spend time as young people. The facilities mentioned included places for children to play, local libraries, parks and shops for everyday needs but no place came to mind that was popular as a meeting point for young people or offered activities that attracted young people. The research did not specifically ask about youth clubs when asking about what there was for young people in their area of residence but none were spontaneously mentioned. Most of the young people said that, because there was little for young people in their locality, the main places for meeting friends were in the city centre.

3.21 Throughout the focus group discussions none of the participants spoke about a sense of belonging with a global Muslim community. Rather, the participants were more likely to discuss their experiences of their local areas which could be sites of both discrimination and social interaction.

3.22 In exploring views of their locality, observations were made about the impact of migration and population turn-over as people move in and out of their areas of residence. These included both negative and positive remarks about recent arrivals from Europe. Some young people blamed recent migrants for litter and noise in their neighbourhoods and made invidious/unfairly discriminating comparison contrasting their view of the long hours that hard-working Muslim families contributed to be successful in and on behalf of the society with observation of the 'hanging around' in the street of more recent migrants.

3.23 Most of the research participants did not think of their residential locality in terms of a 'community'. However, there were exceptions. One woman spoke of her neighbourhood as a community where people from all backgrounds come together and, in some circumstances organise street parties. Further, a young man claimed both his locality and his school as a community. About the former he said:

'I've got family and friends in [name of area], like I tend to go there to hang about or go to family's house. I tend to feel safe there because everybody knows each other even if you're like...you only know them by face or by name. They all know each other and if something goes wrong they'll always be there, so it's like a big family kind of thing.' (school, March 2010).

3.24 This young man was the only participant to spontaneously use the term 'Muslim community'. This was with reference to a specific locality, rather than a global community. Nobody raised the idea of a community without borders or *umma*.

3.25 The idea that all Muslims have something in common because they share the same moral compass explicitly mentioned by a young man in discussions of friendship did not surface as an idea of a Muslim community. This reinforces Hopkins' (2007a) view that claims of British Muslims increasingly connecting with a global Muslim community should not be overstated.

3.26 When the term 'community' was used, it referred to something local. When talking about feeling safe, the young man spontaneously remarked that *'there's more of a Muslim community in [name of location]'* than in other Scottish cities in order to make it clear why he felt safer in particular parts of [name of location] than anywhere else. *'I prefer to hang about there ... because I know like [inaudible] no racism or anything.'* (school, March 2010). This use of 'community' need not carry presumptions of mutual belonging or of interaction and active support systems that would be found in sociological discussions of the term. It may simply refer to a critical mass, sufficient numbers to be a visible presence in the locality and it only became clear that he felt that this area for him was a community in this fuller sense later in the discussion when he then talked about help when things go wrong 'like a big family' (see also Hopkins and Smith 2008).

3.27 The young man's sense of being part of a supportive local community was not the dominant experience. Many of the young people did not feel any engagement with their local area.

'See, where I live it's like everyone keeps themselves to themselves. So like my next door neighbour, we talk if we meet outside but it's not like what are you doing or what are you buying or anything. Everyone's just...even like selling your house or anything, no one cares.' (school, March 2010).

3.28 The remarks made in some groups stressed social divisions rather than mutual community. In two focus groups young people referred to divisions among Asians within their neighbourhood. One remarked on the inappropriateness of imagining that people would automatically have something in common when they were from different parts of the Indian subcontinent. This would confirm the finding of the Change Institute (2009) that there can be considerable fragmentation and differences within communities (Change Institute 2009). One young woman complained that Scottish/British born Pakistanis looked down on her as an immigrant from Pakistan in a way that Scottish people did not:

'I think the people who are from here, the [British] Pakistanis, they treat [us] like bad, [more] than the Scottish people. The Scottish people never treat us like that. They always treat us like the same way.' (school, March 2010).

3.29 One route of connections between Muslims living near each other was through attendance at a mosque. For some of the young men among the school focus group participants, a mosque provided a meeting place and sense of community.

'The mosque is like...see, it's a place to go there to meet people, right, and it's a place to learn how to be peaceful, how to be a good Muslim, and for me, when I was a kid, it wasn't a chore to go to mosque, it was fun, because we went in, sat there, talking to friends.' ...'Like a second house, a second home.' (school, March 2010).

3.30 However, not all of the young men participants attended a mosque regularly or saw it as at the centre of a sense of community. Some acknowledged infrequent or irregular attendance and some noted that the mosque was not a meeting place but just somewhere they went to pray or learn the Quran. One college participant emphasised this particularly strongly:

'I just go for myself and do the praying ... after pray finish I just walk out. I don't stay there, you know, to have lessons or talk about what they're talking about. I don't have any idea what they're talking about, you know.' (college, March 2010).

3.31 Discussion of mosques was likely to be influenced by awareness of national media press coverage of terrorism suggesting that mosques sometimes play a part in communicating a sense of political grievance against the British government that 'radicalises' young Muslims. Participants who were asylum seekers may have felt it was more important to show their own connection with a mosque was simply for prayer. As in other research (Hopkins 2007a), young British citizens spontaneously raised such negative stereotyping of Islam and religious observance in various parts of the focus group discussions. For example a group of young male school pupils spelled out this stereotyping:

*"They think at the mosque that the teacher is talking about terrorists or something, like terrorism and that, talking about the end of the world and jihad and what not ...
We're taught to respect other religions. We respect ours so we respect other religions the way we would respect ours, and we don't go around screaming at Christians and [inaudible] about their prophets and that. We don't do that"* (school, March 2010).

3.32 Most of the young women did not attend mosques regularly or at all. They noted that not all mosques had places for women and gave examples of other settings in which women prayed and read the Quran. Some women talked about regular Friday lessons for women in particular local houses. None of the young women saw mosques as places to meet or the centre of a community for them. The participants in the women's focus groups spoke of seeing changes in the services available from mosques in recent years, and in particular services for Muslim women.

Locality and experiences of discrimination and intolerance

3.33 For some people, the area where they lived was a site of frequent experiences of harassment and abuse, including racism. Some young women experienced forms of sexual harassment in their neighbourhood. Some had their movement restricted by fears about safety and lacked parental permission to be out:

“it’s just like total hell [out on the streets], so you don’t get out much, and, even if you do, like your mum’s watching you from the window” (school, March 2010).

3.34 The local neighbourhood as a site of discrimination was also apparent in discussions with Muslim women participants. One woman spoke of a “*horrific experience*” in her local area when a neighbour remarked that “*this area’s gone down hill*” which she attributed to the fact a number of Asian families had moved into the area. The woman felt excluded from her neighbourhood, describing her neighbours as being territorial. The woman explained the reason she was excluded from her neighbourhood by referring to her ethnic and religious identity:

“...visibly I am brown and I wear a hijab...” (community group, September 2009)

3.35 Typically, however, the women participants found the majority of people in their local area as nice.

3.36 Across groups, some young people noted that areas with higher concentrations of Muslims often felt more comfortable or, as one young man put it, places where you were more likely to survive:

‘If you come from an area where there’s more Muslim population or whatever religion then you’re more likely to, I don’t know, survive. You’re more likely to survive in that area than other areas where there’s less.’ (school, March 2010).

3.37 However, one woman living in Edinburgh described feeling safe in her local neighbourhood because of the visibly limited inter-ethnic mixing in her neighbourhood. Therefore, in comparison with the young man above who felt safety in numbers, the woman in Edinburgh suggested a large Muslim presence in an area could invite discrimination. These findings support the work of Hopkins and Smith which found that different strategies were applied by young Muslims living in Edinburgh and Glasgow because of the different ethnic and religious compositions of the cities (2008).

3.38 The young woman interviewed at college described a particularly harrowing pattern of repeated harassment from one of her Scottish neighbours and local children. She was living in an area of multiple deprivation and understood that local people had drink and drug abuse problems. Harassment included having a variety of objects thrown into her house and at her, water, tomatoes, nappies, milk, alcohol bottles. Her college was a refuge in comparison. A number of the asylum-seeking participants in the college focus group had stories of incidents of attacks on people and property in which help had been sought from the police. None of the school focus group participants had such directly physically threatening negative experiences of immediate neighbours within their localities, although accounts of problematic ‘neds’ were a recurrent theme.

Community Relations: A Response to Segregation

3.39 There was some discussion amongst the women participants about the importance of Muslims reaching out to non-Muslim people and integrating into the wider community. It was suggested by some women that Muslims can, at times, isolate themselves from the wider community. One woman in particular referred to her experience of living in an urban area in England, suggesting there were worse experiences of racism than her experience of living in Scotland because the Asian community did not integrate. This view that Muslims segregate themselves was also raised by another woman who felt that it was the responsibility of Muslims to create a positive impression of Islam:

“...if you really open yourself and try to approach other people, people will have a good impression of Islam because I think people don’t know about Islam because Muslims are very closed” (community group, September 2009).

3.40 Therefore, there was a strong feeling amongst the women that Muslims have a responsibility to integrate with their local neighbours. As one woman put it:

“As a Muslim we have a duty to be good to our neighbours as well; sort of opening up that door” (community group, September 2009).

College and School as Relatively Safe?

3.41 Experiences of unfriendliness and hostility were common in the street but not in college or school. The college-based participants typically described the college as a place where there was ‘no problem’. The participants attending college did not discuss any incidences of bad behaviour and disciplinary issues at college and, when they emerged in the discussions with school pupils, the majority gave credit to their school for intolerance of bad behaviour and dealing with explicit racism. Some spontaneously identified a range of formal and informal ways in which serious problems with other pupils could be reported and dealt with. One boy approvingly recounted how a pupil was disciplined by temporary exclusion from school for several days for abusively calling another pupil a ‘Paki’ with the school stepping in to:

“not let it get out of hand too much” with the positive effect that, “Now, like the boy’s okay; he’s friendly and stuff” (school, 22nd March).

3.42 Some school pupils explicitly identified their school as a relatively safe and friendly place.

“I mean I’ve been in this school for six years and I don’t think I’ve experienced any racism in this school” (school, March 2010).

3.43 However, in parts of the discussion, it was clear that both college students and school pupils were concerned about the stereotyping of Muslims as terrorists. Awareness of the stereotyping of Muslims sometimes seemed to create a sense of

the lurking possibility of racism. In addition, some school pupils also conveyed a view that they were not always treated fairly in ways they felt bordered on racism.

3.44 Across the focus groups, on a number of occasions unease was expressed that perhaps other pupils may be stereotyping Muslims as extremists or associating them with terrorists. In one group, one young man suggested:

'In class most of the people that talk about Muslims, they tend to talk about the ones that are extremists and the ones that plant the bombs and stuff like that', another participant chipped in 'they think that we're like them' (school, March 2010).

In another group, a young woman related a more direct experience:

'I was just walking down the corridor and his [another pupil's] bag was open and I tried to close it for him. He's like, 'Don't touch it. You're going to put a bomb in it.' Because I'm from Iraq. And I just felt really upset.' (school, March 2010).

3.45 One of the college-based participants reported hearing a Scottish girl student talking about another woman in college who was covered except for her eyes. He believed Scottish girls were 'scared' and that when people found out that he was a Muslim sometimes they were also scared because *'people see these terrorist people.'*

3.46 The school focus group discussions also indicated that teachers' behaviour was sometimes interpreted, at least by the young men, as favouritism towards pupils who were more like the teachers themselves:

'They give their white students more attention and more chances to do things than us. So if we make a mistake they'll point it out and put you down for it and not help you be better' (school, March 2010).

Although none of the other participants contradicted this, one did later remark *'most of the teachers in this school are fair.'*

3.47 In a subsequent discussion of teachers' apparent uneven handed treatment over the issue of school uniform, the fact that teachers did not want hassle from parents was raised as a reason why some white pupils were allowed to get away with ignoring school dress codes when Asian pupils were not given this leeway:

'Participant: *We're in normal school shirt, jumpers, normal trousers, shoes. The rest of them will wear jeans, hoodies and...*

No, you see people...you see all the neds, [meaning non-educated delinquents] right? All the neds are in their trackies [track suits], right?

Participant: *All them get away with it.*

Participant: *Then you see all the kind of like...like you always get a load of people all round everywhere colour, and wearing tight jeans and all that and heavy big boots and all that, and we come in normal clothing and they start shouting like...and we'll be wearing dark jeans*

and that and they start shouting at us and they pull us up so many times without even pulling anybody else up.

Facilitator: *And why do you think that happens?*

Participant: *Because we're Asian.*

Participant: *I think it's easier for them to pick on us than do it for them because I think they feel as if when they pinpoint the white people they think it's bad on them.*

Facilitator: *Who thinks it's bad on who?*

Participant: *The teachers think it's bad on them.*

Participant: *But say our teacher sent a white pupil home, they think their parents are going to come back and say this, that and the next thing, whereas if they send the Asian people home, like our parents aren't exactly going to phone up the school and all that. Half our parents probably don't even know English, half of them, so obviously they can get away with doing it to us, whereas with the white people they're obviously going to be questioned more' (school, March 2010)*

3.48 Therefore, despite the young people largely agreeing that experiences of unfriendliness and hostility were not common in school or college, discrimination was an underlying concern for many of the participants.

Fears of Intolerance and Discrimination

3.49 The unease that the boys in particular expressed about fairness of treatment by teachers at school perhaps reflected a more widespread unease that discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and religion is possible within Scottish society. Although employment was not a topic that was systematically discussed, in the course of the focus groups, fears about the possibility of facing such discrimination when looking for work were spontaneously raised by both young men and young women.

3.50 For example a young woman expressed the view that if apparently conventional white Scottish people and young Muslims went for the same job and all else was equal, the former would get it:

'I think if someone went for a job and it was between some Muslim and someone who was...like people in here, someone in here, I think the job would be given to them than to a Muslim. I think that's what the big issue'...(school, March 2010)

3.51 A young Muslim man of African origin feared he would suffer from double discrimination:

'I'm a Muslim but because of my background, I'm black and I'm African, people don't tend to associate Islam with me as they do associate them with, let's say, people from Asian backgrounds ... my name, which is [name]. You get me? So that is actually on my form, and then I don't know if I will actually get discriminated against when I'm applying for a job or anything like that. But what I'm saying is I would tend to be even more of - will be more of, let's say, as in 'a

threat to their jobs'. That's how they would see it. Or maybe 'changing their culture' or 'breaking the boundaries.' (school, March 2010)

3.52 This unease about the possibility of discrimination was also evident in the discussions with the women participants. One participant spoke of a recent unsuccessful job interview she had attended. The woman felt the reason she had been unsuccessful was because of discrimination despite being suitably qualified for the position.

Experiences of Intolerance and Discrimination

3.53 On the streets and in their everyday navigation of the city, most participants had had some experience of unfriendliness and hostility that they saw as unequivocally racist⁵⁰. The experience of being abusively called 'Paki', 'Paki bastard' or 'black bastard' was common. In the school-based focus groups, some young men talked of this as a weekly or daily occurrence while others said it was not a problem. These different experiences could reflect the different areas of the city in which they lived, as well as, perhaps, an element of chance.

When is Uncivil Behaviour Racism?

3.54 Not all unfriendliness, or even the most troublesome behaviour, was attributed to racism or religious discrimination. In one focus group a young woman raised how uncomfortable she felt being stared at by men in the main shopping street near where she lived:

"These guys ... they just look at you like they've never seen a girl before. ... They just like stand there like staring at you. It's like it's quite annoying [I think] 'Oh my god, what's wrong with me, or something? Why are they all looking at me that way?'" (school, March 2010).

This was recognised and discussed by the group as something other than racism, something men from different sorts of background do to young women; a 'guy thing', not restricted to men of a particular ethnicity or religion. It was not named as sexual harassment or clearly condemned. Rather, it was described as a common experience that just needed to be tolerated.

3.55 All the groups of women spoke of encountering another form of 'looks' that they did not explicitly call racism. They were describing people reacting to the *hijab* as a marker of their identity as Muslim by making them feel uncomfortable and unwelcome. As the literature review found, Muslim women often experience specific challenges and certain symbols which identify them as Muslim and these can act to exclude them from being seen as Scottish (see paragraphs 2.36, 2.37 and 2.58):

"You get looks. ... It makes you feel very uncomfortable. It makes you feel very unwelcome as well. By a few people I will add. Yeah, the majority of people are quite nice and respect you. ... I think some

⁵⁰ As referred to in paragraph 1.21 the term 'Islamophobia' was not used when introducing the research with young people as previous work had already indicated that this word may not be widely understood or accepted. An interest in experiences of racism was indicated at the outset.

people still have in their minds that we're Muslims and we're not meant to be here, but...that's what I feel, but probably some don't feel that way. Probably just think the way we're dressed..."

"I agree with that. Especially...I wear a hijab and I do, like, feel the kind of...if you're walking with someone who's not, you can see the way you're treated differently, and I've felt that quite a lot. And it's not just me who feels that, there's a lot of other people I know that feel that they're being judged just by what they're wearing, and obviously that's a symbol of you being Muslim" (school, March 2010)

3.56 Whilst some women described wearing the *hijab* as an important way for them to identify as Muslim, it could also result in the attraction of unpleasant attention and occasionally discrimination.

3.57 Understandings of awkward encounters and disagreeable incidents as racism are partly based on accumulated experience. The young women who rejected an interpretation of men's sexual harassment of women through staring as racism, accepted that specific examples of tension over parking and queue etiquette did express racism:

"Participant: *My next door neighbour parks his car in front of our house that's our space, and he does that deliberately. ... every time we leave, because we're always in the car, and then he's always parked round the corner. As soon as he sees us leave... he just parks his car right in front of our house. No joke.*

Facilitator: *Why do you think he does that?*

Participant: *Racist probably. Because we're like the ones...because we've got like a big car and we've got like a house round the corner in such a nice area. It's mostly surrounded by white people. So basically probably thinking, 'Them Pakis'" (school, March 2010)*

3.58 Another young woman believed that the intolerance she experienced of her minor violation of queuing rules when seeking to maintain her position in the queue while fetching something she'd forgotten was because she is Asian:

"you're like oh mum, you stand in the queue and I'll go get something and it's like a White person's there and they'll just like [sighs] look at the queue and huffing and puffing" (school, March 2010).

3.59 Experiences of double discrimination were discussed by the women participants. One woman described particular encounters where people have been reluctant to sit beside her as an example of religious discrimination based on the fact that she wears a *hijab*. Another woman in the group, who had also experienced these encounters, felt they occurred "*because of the colour of my skin*", and by referring to the fact that she did not wear a *hijab* suggested they were not because of her religion.

3.60 All the research participants encountered unfriendly and unpleasant incidences which were understood and categorised through a process of accumulated experience. Nevertheless, categorising these unfriendly encounters

was not easy for the participants. One woman described an encounter with a work colleague who avoided making eye contact with her in a group training situation. The woman felt that this behaviour expressed racism yet also described feeling hesitant to define the behaviour as racist:

“people are smart enough that they can’t be outwardly racist but it’s in their attitude... And then I was thinking am I being too sensitive? Am I just overreacting? I don’t know, and you don’t want to think the worst of people” (community group, September 2009).

3.61 The above quote highlights the active process through which the participants accounted for awkward and disagreeable encounters. The participant is suggesting that people can be astute and less blatant in their prejudiced thinking. The woman believes people with racist opinions recognise the need to be subtle in the way they demonstrate their racist attitudes, making it harder to define an encounter as racist. In addition, the woman qualifies the initial statement by saying that *“you don’t want to think the worst of people”*, placing doubt on her initial definition of the encounter as racist. Of interest is the way in which the participant is cautious to define this experience as racist. Ahmed et al (2000) suggest this is an active attempt by victims to deal with racism; by supposing that *“racism is something which may exist only in the minds of those who are looking for it”* (Ahmed et al 2000). The authors argue that this account places responsibility on the victims of racism who may be seen to be looking for trouble.

3.62 In contrast, the participants in the college-based discussion group seemed reluctant to describe incidents of disapproving or unwelcoming behaviour as racism. One man described how he was challenged on a bus by a passenger who was presumably Scottish, for speaking to a friend in his native tongue. The man demanded to know if he could speak English:

“He said, ‘Because you are in Scotland and you need to speak English.’” (college, March 2010)

However, the story culminated in describing how a woman, apparently another Scottish passenger came to his aid, telling the first passenger *“it’s not your problem”*.

3.63 It is not clear from the discussions with asylum-seeker participants why they might be reluctant to describe unfriendly incidents as racism. However, Leudar et al suggest it is important to understand *“the environment in which refugees/asylum seekers live in the UK is mostly hostile”* and it is within this environment that they are seeking to present themselves favourably (Leudar et al 2008). Therefore, it is possible that because of the uncertainty of their status in the UK, the participants are less likely to offer criticism.

Misunderstanding Islam and ‘Islamophobia’

3.64 The research was particularly interested in the extent to which the research participants experienced encounters of religious discrimination, and how the participants understood and accounted for these experiences.

3.65 The term 'Islamophobia' was not familiar to the participants and there was typically a strong reaction against the term, seeing it as in itself a form of stereotyping⁵¹:

"What does that mean anyway, Islamophobia? ... Why do they come up with all these words?... they don't have enough respect to leave our book or the name as it is. They want to make names about it" (school, March 2010).

"I think it's a fabricated word that ...it's another term that the media's using. I mean Islamophobia, what is it really trying to achieve? What, saying people are scared of Islam? Well then if people are scared of Islam then if you're scared of something then you tend to deal with it, so using the word Islamophobia would lead to people trying to sort it out and if people are trying to sort it out then it will then cause people to deal with it in different ways [another person interrupts] Because half of people don't even know what Islam means so how can you go out and say it's a phobia?" (school, March 2010)

3.66 That the term 'phobia' is problematic was also referred to in the literature where it has been argued the term appears to suggest there is something within Islam to be feared and that this fear is not subject to criticism (Siraj 2009).

3.67 The issue of fear of and misunderstanding of Islam was seen as a problem in all the focus groups and the problem was typically raised without reference to the term 'Islamophobia' and independently of any discussion of that term. A sense that their religion was little understood and often misrepresented to the detriment of Muslims permeated the discussions and emerged when discussing a range of topics.

3.68 When asked about attendance at mosques, as noted above, some participants chose to tackle stereotyping mosques as places teaching hatred. One young man said:

"people think, 'Ah, he goes to mosque and all that they talk about is Islam, Islam, Islam, how white people are bad and all that.' But they don't. They teach you, like, all mosque teachers say your teachers are like your parents in that respect, and obviously that's ... Respect your parents, and who you respect after are your teachers. They give you the knowledge" (school, March 2010)

3.69 In several discussions, frustration was expressed at widespread ignorance of the prohibitions on violence in Islamic teaching. One group eloquently argued that rather than all Muslims being seen as terrorists, the terrorists should not be seen as Muslims since they clearly contradicted Islamic teachings:

"all these terrorists and everything, they're not actually Muslims. They're not Muslims because if they're Muslims they can't do it.

⁵¹ The researchers were advised not to use the term 'Islamophobia' in the focus groups with young people after the discussions with Muslim women identified a strong negative reaction to the term.

Because in Islam terrorism is forbidden ... There was a Prophet saying that a man who saves someone is...it's like he saved the whole world and a man who kills someone it's as though he's killed the whole world, so I mean working on those grounds then yeah, they are actually...they're not Muslims" (school, March 2010).

3.70 There was also frustration at the lack of recognition for the respect that Muslims are taught to give to other religions and to authority figures such as teachers and elders regardless of their faith, and the apparent lack of reciprocity in the respect. There was a discussion amongst the Muslim women who felt, whilst it was no longer socially acceptable to be racist, people felt a justification to discriminate against Muslims. In particular, it was felt that Muslims who were visible as such were likely to experience religiously motivated discrimination:

"Because whenever there is some sort of terrorism they have a justification to go and attack people who are visibly Muslim that is not right" (community group, September 2009).

3.71 Further, there was widespread concern about more pervasive cultural forces. The power of the media to tell people what to think was frequently raised. Participants were very concerned about the impact of negative images of Muslims and Islam circulating in the mass media. Typically, respondents felt that the media reported a biased image of Islam that actively contributed to experiences of religious discrimination. One woman described the subtle messaging she had encountered in the media that presented the visibly practicing Muslim as potentially holding extreme views. The woman felt that Muslims were only presented as acceptable in the media if they were not fully practicing but, rather, demonstrated their integration into society through such behaviour as drinking and having extra-marital relationships.

3.72 The potential impact of negative portrayals of Muslims and, particularly, the focus on terrorism was raised repeatedly. Some participants claimed evidence of the effects in the form of personal experiences of an increase in incidents of hostility to Muslims since 9/11 or reports of this from others in their social network:

"Our mothers started getting attacked and that's when we really got pissed off" (school, March 2010).

3.73 As well as experiencing abuse on the streets, there were accounts of participants and their relatives being treated with suspicion by authorities because of an appearance that marked them as Muslim. These accounts of discrimination described by the participants were often about the suspicion encountered from others. One woman reported an incident where she was followed by a security guard while waiting for public transport:

"...after 7/7 I was using public transport, I was coming back from somewhere and I was using the underground and it was pretty cramped and I had all these bags and I had my handbag and I was waiting and I went downstairs and I saw [the security guard] coming and I kind of thought 'this guy is following me' and I walked right to the end of the platform and he followed me right the way down and then I

started to walk back and he followed me again and that was quite intimidating for myself but also it reminded me of the tensions to myself and before you knew it he was standing right beside me kind of peering into my bag and who knows what he thought and it would have been so much easier if he had just pulled me aside and said 'can I ask you what's in your bag?' [laughs]" (community group, September 2009).

3.74 In particular, the participants evidenced this heightened suspicion of Muslims with reference to the treatment they experienced in airports. Again, it was their identity as Muslims that was reported as the reason behind the additional security checks they encountered and the participants emphasised this suspicion was a recent phenomenon:

"One of my uncles...my uncle's mate ... came up from Pakistan and he had a beard and stuff, and he had nothing on him and they kept him for, like, an hour or something because they thought he was a terrorist ..."
"Aye. Same with my uncle. ... they were questioning him and all that and pure checking all his stuff and that, just because he looked like a terrorist. Stupid" (school, March 2010).

3.75 The women also spoke about the impact of this heightened mistrust of Islam and Muslims:

"You have to be so cautious. I only have boys and they are 12 now but it's like sometimes they will say something [inaudible] like about a bomber jacket and I say 'don't call it that' and they are like 'but mum it's called a bomber jacket' and I'm like 'call it something else' and it's really sad that... living in that kind of environment and such high security" (community group, September 2009).

3.76 Participants saw what was happening locally as connected to global events which were, in themselves, sometimes seen as hostile to Muslims. The media responses to global events were seen as feeding racism locally by adding to the stock of globally circulating stereotyping of Muslims. Typically it was reported that the world has changed for Muslims. In several discussions, inventories were made of examples of globally circulating negative discourse about Muslims. One of the school-based discussions among young women itemised cartoons of the prophet Mohammed and mischief making racist groups on the internet such as on social networking sites and *"a picture of the Quran and it was like being flushed down the toilet or something."*

3.77 In another focus group a young man said of racism:

"It's growing even more. Like, people like George Bush and that brainwashing his people, like before, obviously. And then BNP trying to spread the word and the Ku Klux Klan, and then there's the Dutch Prime Minister. Everywhere it's just spreading and spreading" (school, March 2010)

3.78 The absence of good news stories about Muslims was also highlighted:

“How many times do you see a story in the paper saying something about some successful Muslim. There are successful Muslims, obviously there are. And why do they all write about Muslims that are doing this and doing that? Why do they not write about how Muslims are successful, who help the country, or who help the economy or whatever. They never have anything like that” (school, March 2010).

3.79 The discussions indicated that many of the participants had given some thought to the chain of logic involved in stereotyping Muslims as terrorists, as well as being annoyed by ignorance of prohibitions on killing in Islamic faith. Several participants commented on the faulty logic: *“it doesn’t mean that one person does it we’re all the same.”* Some also noted that the same logic of generalising from one to all was not applied equally to all groups but seemed to reflect a particular disrespect for Muslims. This sometimes became meshed with discussion about the politics of who gets called a terrorist and failure to recognise the extent of harm to civilian populations from US and British military activities in Iraq and Afghanistan.

3.80 Therefore, the research found that the participants’ understandings of religious discrimination recognised the interaction between their localities and global events. They were acutely aware of negative stereotyping of Muslims which link Islam and terrorism in global circulation and stressed the local impact of these stereotypes. In addition, the women suggested there is a general mistrust of religion in Britain. The women felt that it was partly because of how publicly visible practicing Muslims are that they become particularly subject to discrimination.

Making Sense of Racism and Religious Intolerance

3.81 The discussions also provided insight into how the participants accounted for and made sense of racism and hostility to Muslims.

3.82 The research participants had sophisticated understandings of the causes of racism and strategies for dealing with it. One way in which they made sense of racism was by identifying a particularly problematic kind of person with a propensity to racism, ‘neds’ who were identified as ignorant, uneducated and generally uncivil in their behaviour.

3.83 In contrast to the focus groups with Muslim women, both the young men and women from the school-based focus groups talked about the problem of ‘neds’, ‘non-educated delinquents’. Their collective descriptions of ‘neds’ identified them as a minority troublemaker group of white young men who demonstrated their masculinity by being abusive and violent. ‘Neds’ were also described as only being friendly with other ‘neds’, wearing distinctive styles of dress, coming from particular areas and from alcohol and drug abusing families. While ‘neds’ as a problem was not reducible to racism by the young people, they had no doubt that ‘neds’ were racist and some identified ‘neds’ as the main source of racist abuse they experienced:

'... but you do, [get to] be called, like, black bastard a lot. That is written on the walls, said to you in your face. So, yeah, that's been said. But obviously...there used to be a lot of kind of, I don't know, what you call 'neds'. There used to be a lot of them before the Europeans came, and you used to get a lot of abuse then'(school, March 2010).

3.84 At times racism was explicitly attributed to 'neds'. The idea that most people are decent was sometimes made explicit. Ahmed et al suggests this is a familiar common sense explanation for racism; that *"the root of racism is ignorance"* (Ahmed et al. 2000). Thus racism occurs because of lack of knowledge or through 'fear of the unknown' referred to by some of the participants. In other accounts, jealousy and resentment of success were also identified as a common specific cause of racism or anti-Muslim prejudice that could affect even otherwise civil people as in the account of the neighbour who wilfully occupies the parking space directly outside an Asian family's house:

"There is a lot of jealousy in it because a lot of white...like, older white people, oh, why are all these Muslims and all that getting all this money, why are they living alright and all that, but that's because our families came here and started from nothing. They've worked their way up" (school, March 2010).

3.85 A view of some people as jealous could include explicit recognition that not all white people are like that. The full story told by a young woman of the jealous white neighbour involved a contrast with another neighbour engaged in acts of kindness.

3.86 Another specific explanation sometimes applied to 'neds', as well as used more generally, was the problems of drunkenness and drug abuse. In the following quote the temporary insanity induced by alcohol was offered as an explanation by an asylum seeker who may have come from a culture in which the spectacle of drunk people may not have been such a routine part of everyday life:

"Some people, they just lose themselves of alcohol. ... So when they lose themselves they don't know what they're doing. That is the problem, you know" (college, March 2010).

3.87 Typically, there was evidence that the participants were hesitant to define encounters as racist. On those occasions when an encounter was seen as racist or discriminatory the participants stressed that most people were decent and made sense of the discriminatory behaviour by suggesting it resulted from lack of knowledge, jealousy, or was fuelled by alcohol or drugs.

Strategies for Dealing with Racism and Religious Intolerance

3.88 Discussions also provided insight into the participants' strategies for dealing with racism. Ignoring everyday abuse was a routine strategy. The following response summed this up:

"We're taught to just ignore it and just get on with our lives. It's not going to kill us if somebody walks up and goes, oh you Paki, this and that. You just say 'Okay'" (school, March 2010).

3.89 But young men also talked about situations in which they believed they had to fight back. Several young men claimed that positive results had followed from fighting. Accounts included a description of ganging up with other Asian young men to conduct 'retaliation' for racist attacks with the result that the attacks stopped for "a couple of months."

3.90 A story of success about standing up to a particular bully was recounted by one participant with the moral that

"if you constantly ignore it then they'll think of you as a guy who can't really defend yourself and then they'll just take it further and further and further. So at the end of the day I think you should actually deal with it and sort out the person who's doing this" (school, March 2010).

3.91 However, it was also acknowledged that fighting back could get you into trouble. A girl recounted how treatment of people involved in fights was sometimes unfair.

Participant: My bigger brother ... got into like a really big fight, because my brother's like really darker and he got called a Paki and he isn't so that annoys him ... obviously nobody wants to go looking for trouble so he just like said, 'Listen mate, I'm not so don't call me it', and walked away and went to the shops, and then the white guy went and got all his friends. My brother was in the shop getting stuff for lunch and then he just tapped him on the shoulder and turned around and punched him, and then obviously my brother fought back. But it was just like bad timing that as soon as my brother was punching the police came so then it was him that got charged and everything.

Facilitator: What did the school do about that incident?

Participant: Nothing. It was him that fought back. That's like the way I think the schools look at it. See if like somebody starts a fight with you you're meant to just like walk away and ignore it. If you punch back or if you do something back then you'll get into trouble for it" (young woman, school, March 2010)

Again, the participant emphasises that the responsibility is placed with the victim "to just walk away and ignore it." One woman participant commended another woman for not responding aggressively when she encountered abuse from a neighbour, stressing that "you don't want to make the stereotype of, you know, fundamentalist, aggressive Muslim, you know..." (community group, September 2009).

3.92 Political activism against racism only came up in one discussion group. When a young man described being surprised and pleased that so many white people turned out to march against the British National Party. Another young man commented:

“Yeah, I was aware of it. I wanted to take part in it but about a month earlier ... the leader of the mosque, the Imam, said...he encouraged us not to go there. He thought there’d be more of a conflict” (school, March 2010).

3.93 The discussions with the women about strategies for dealing with racism often focused the responsibility with Muslims to inform people about Islam and challenge negative stereotypes. As mentioned previously, it was often implied that the problem of racism in Britain resulted from a lack of knowledge that could be overcome through people coming into contact with Muslims. Therefore, it was felt that people were not intentionally racist. Rather, people could be excused for reacting negatively if they had not come into contact with Muslims previously. One woman described a particularly unpleasant experience with a neighbour who had been abusive to her family over a two year period. The woman explained that eventually the neighbour *“has just come round because she has seen they are just like us, you know”* (community group, September 2009). Therefore, according to the participant the abuse she encountered was because her neighbour

“had not met people who were Muslim before, and then we moved in and it was ‘oh my god what has happened, there are Muslims in my street’” (community group, September 2009).

3.94 The women felt strongly that education was important in informing young people about different religions and helping to improve their understanding about people of different faiths. Further, the women felt the education system should teach young people about the history of migration to Britain and highlight the contributions migrant communities have made to Britain.

3.95 Typically, the participants were not aware of any initiatives designed to address religious discrimination against Muslims. One woman spoke positively about a scheme developed by the police called ‘Act Now’ which was designed to enable people to understand the decisions counter terrorism officers have to make. Nevertheless, several of the women spoke critically of attempts to report faith related hate crimes to the police and one woman spoke of encountering a police officer who was unaware of the difference between a faith related hate crime and a race related hate crime. There was general agreement that legislation should reflect the severity of faith related hate crimes.

3.96 The young Muslims were also generally unaware of initiatives designed to address religious discrimination against Muslims, although some were aware of anti-racist campaigns and that discrimination is against the law.

Research Findings - Summary

Friendliness, Mixing and Distance

As is the case for many young people, the young Muslim participants typically experienced friendly interaction and mixing across diverse backgrounds while at school. However, this typically coincided with separation into informal groupings of Muslim friends from similar backgrounds.

For asylum seekers who were learning English, their lack of fluency helps inhibit informal interaction out of the context of their English learning class. The focus of many young people's lives was their family and their friends rather than a place or network identified as a 'community'.

Locality and experiences of discrimination

For some research participants, their area of residence was a site of unpleasant encounters. The most common incidents for some young women involved unwanted intrusive attention from men, sexism or sexual harassment rather than racism, but in some areas, both young women and men were subjected to frequent racist insults.

Experience ranged, according to place of residence, from frequent physical intrusions and regular verbal abuse to almost never experiencing verbal insults. While college and school were seen as relatively safe places, they were not free of concerns about the possibilities of racism.

Experiences of Intolerance and Discrimination

Young people's accounts included some direct experience of comments in school suggesting Muslims are terrorists. Some young people feared that teachers saw Muslim pupils as unlike themselves and were likely to favour white non-Muslim pupils and some feared that anti-Muslim discourse might have an impact on future employers.

Most young people had had some experience of unfriendliness and hostility that they saw as unequivocally racist, most commonly being abusively called 'Paki', 'Paki bastard' or 'black bastard'. Not all uncivil behaviour was regarded as racism and much low level incivility was ignored rather than analysed. However, racism was seen as the underlying cause of a wide range of unwelcome behaviour. It seems likely that the widespread experience of direct racist insults informs recognition of more subtle forms of communicating disapproval and resentment.

Making Sense of Racism and Religious Intolerance

The research participants had sophisticated understandings of the causes of racism and strategies for dealing with it. Their analysis included the identification of a particular sort of racist person, 'neds', – a term which they spelled out as non-educated delinquents. They additionally offered accounts of racism fuelled by jealousy of success, and racism as a form of aggression precipitated by drink and drugs.

Young people typically also had an analysis that recognised the interaction between their localities and global events. All were aware of negative stereotyping of Muslims in global circulation on the internet and through forms of mass media encouraging disrespect for Islam and stressed the local impact of globally circulating mass media discourse linking Islam and terrorism.

Strategies for Dealing with Racism and Religious Intolerance

The most common strategy for dealing with racism was to ignore it, but in situations where racism was seen as very serious or persistent a more proactive approach was seen as necessary. While this could mean seeking assistance from an authority, for some young men it meant physically fighting back including, sometimes, organising a collective fight back.

Many young people wished that others would learn more about their religion. All discussion groups lamented ignorance of their basic beliefs and lack of reciprocity in affording the Islamic faith the respect that they were taught to show for other religions, teachers and elders. While some young people were aware of anti-racist campaigns and appreciative of actions against racism, many felt little was being done to combat anti-Muslim sentiments. The term Islamophobia was not familiar or felt to be helpful.

4 CONCLUSIONS

4.1 This report has outlined a number of key findings from a selection of current research into the experiences of Muslims in Scotland and across Britain; alongside a number of shortcomings with the available evidence from a Scottish context. These are summarised below.

4.2 There was evidence of a shortage of research into the experiences of Muslims in Scotland. In particular, research that considers the diversity both within and across Muslim communities. This is despite the fact several writers have acknowledged there are particular differences between Scotland and England (see for example Hopkins 2008). Future research projects should aim to address this evidence gap.

Social Identity

4.3 This report identified that a particular focus of current literature has been on questions of identity formation, and the extent to which religion is becoming increasingly important in the identity formation of Muslims in Britain. Whilst religion was found to be an important way in which Muslims identified themselves, religion was one among multiple elements of identity formation. In particular, it was suggested that singular forms of identity classifications may have limited value (Hopkins 2007b).

4.4 Furthermore, despite research suggesting that Muslims in Scotland are more likely to identify as Scottish compared with Muslims in England identifying as English (see Hussain and Miller 2004), this report found that Scottish Muslims experience feelings of 'otherness' and difference resulting from experiences of religious and racial discrimination (see also Hopkins 2007a; Hopkins 2007b; Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008). Indeed, research by Hussain and Miller found that almost half (49%) of the majority community in Scotland were identified as holding 'Islamophobic' attitudes compared with almost two thirds (63%) of the majority community in England (Hussain and Miller 2006).

Community Relations

4.5 The relationship between Muslim and non-Muslims communities has been a further area of interest of recent literature; and in particular, whether arguments that Muslims choose to segregate from the rest of society are well founded.

4.6 Typically it has been suggested that such arguments are often justified through reference to cultural explanations; placing responsibility with the Muslim communities themselves. Rather, a key finding of the literature is that Muslims face restricted choices and that it is necessary to understand the socio-economic circumstances of many Muslim communities in Britain.

4.7 Research evidence does not sufficiently support arguments of an increasing identification by Muslims in Britain with a global Muslim community, or umma. There is evidence to suggest Muslims, and in particular British born Muslims, feel excluded

from fully identifying with Britain. Future research projects could aim to address this evidence gap.

Experiences of Intolerance and Discrimination

4.8 A picture emerged from the literature in which Muslim communities both within Scotland and across Britain report experiencing incidences of religious discrimination and racial discrimination, supporting arguments of a 'double burden' (see for example Hopkins 2007b). This was supported by primary research which found evidence that the perception of the prevalence of such discrimination appears to have increased as a result of global events; a finding supported by the literature.

4.9 For many research participants, their area of residence was a site of unpleasant encounters. For some young women the most common incidents involved unwanted intrusive attention from men, sexism or sexual harassment rather than racism, but in some areas, both young women and men were subjected to frequent racist insults. Experience ranged, according to place of residence, from frequent physical intrusions and regular verbal abuse to almost never experiencing even verbal insults.

4.10 The issue of fear of and misunderstanding of Islam was seen as a problem by the research participants. A sense that their religion was little understood and often misrepresented to the detriment of Muslims permeated the discussions and emerged when discussing a range of topics. The participants' understandings of religious discrimination recognised the interaction between their localities and global events, a finding supported by the literature (see Hopkins 2007a). They were acutely aware of negative stereotyping of Muslims which link Islam and terrorism in global circulation and stressed the local impact of these stereotypes.

4.11 Typically, the research participants were concerned at the lack of understanding for their religion and they wished that others would learn more about their religion. While some were aware of anti-racist campaigns and appreciative of actions against racism, many felt little was being done to combat anti-Muslim sentiments. It was widely felt that education could help improve relations between communities, alongside greater support for the participation of Muslim women and young people in civic society.

4.12 There is evidence that Muslims across Britain have experienced discrimination based upon their ethnicity and their religious identity. This research found evidence that young Muslims experience specific challenges of discrimination. Further exploration within a Scottish context would help develop understanding in this area.

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APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHICS TABLES AND CHARTS

Demographics⁵²

Figure 1.1: Ethnic group by current religion - All People (*Percentages*)

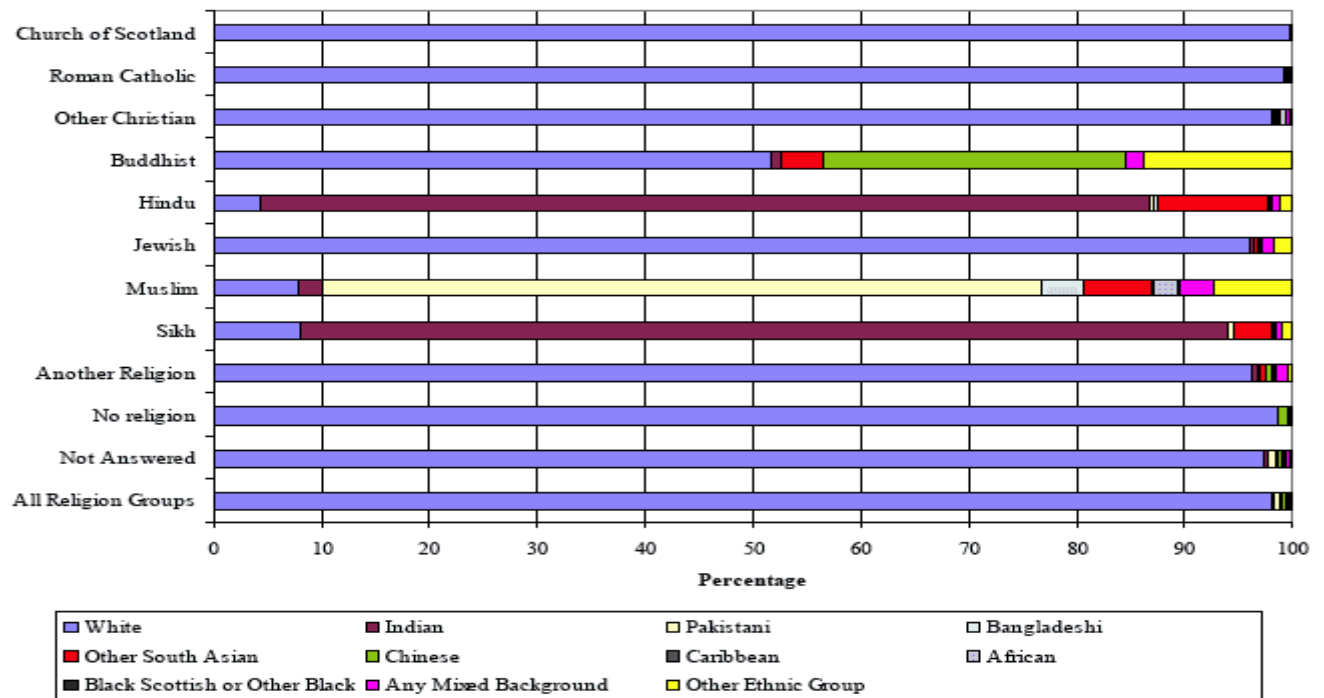
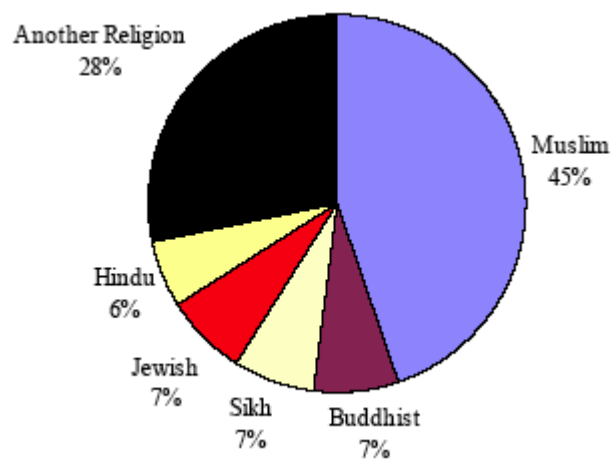


Figure 1.2: Current Religion of Non-Christian Religious Population (*Percentages*)



⁵² All charts are taken from Scottish Government (2005) analysis of religion in the 2001 Census: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/02/20757/53568> unless otherwise stated.

Table 1.0: Current Religion in Scotland - All People (*Percentages*)

Religion of upbringing	% with no current religion
Church of Scotland	14
Roman Catholic	10
Other Christian	23
Buddhist	21
Hindu	5
Jewish	10
Muslim	2
Sikh	4
Another Religion	16
No religion	92
Not answered	11
All Religion Groups	28

Age profiles

Figure 1.3: Age profile of all people by current religion - All People (*Percentages*)

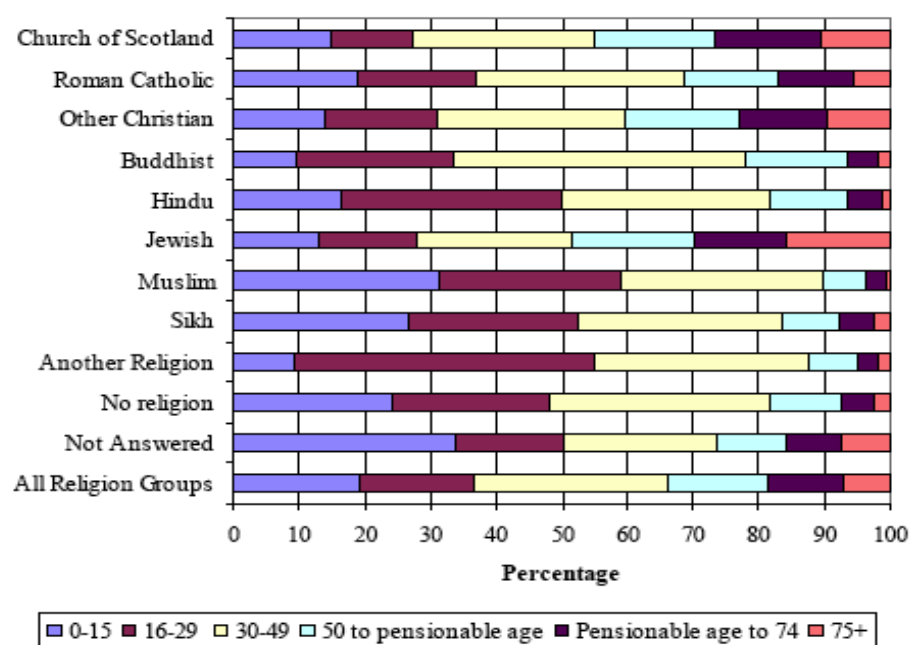


Figure 1.4: Age profile of men by current religion - All Males (Percentages)

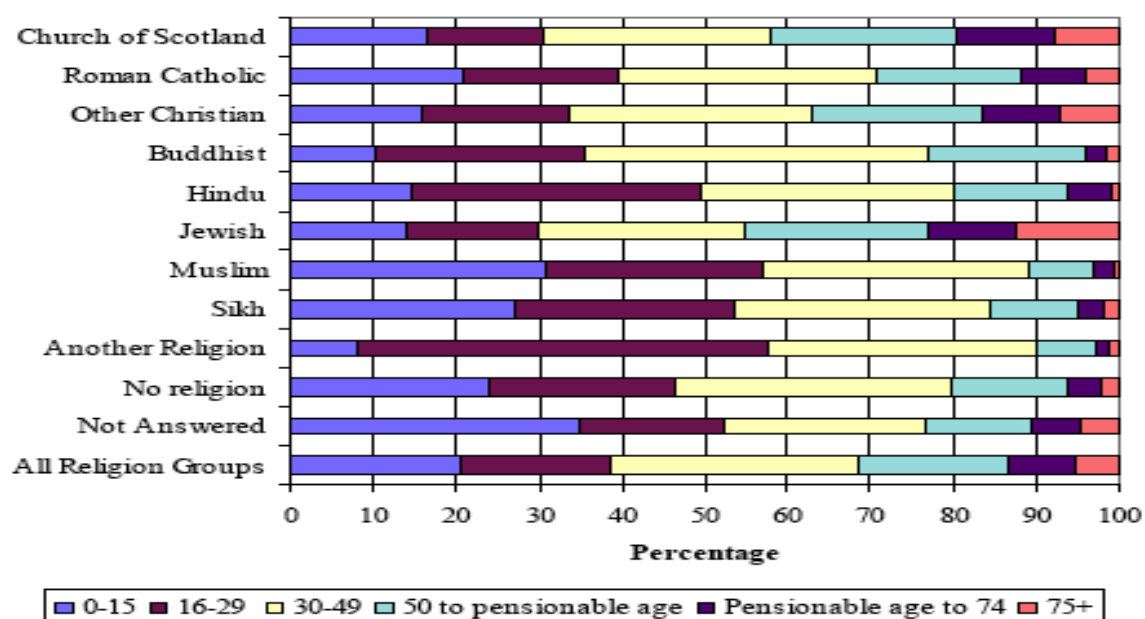
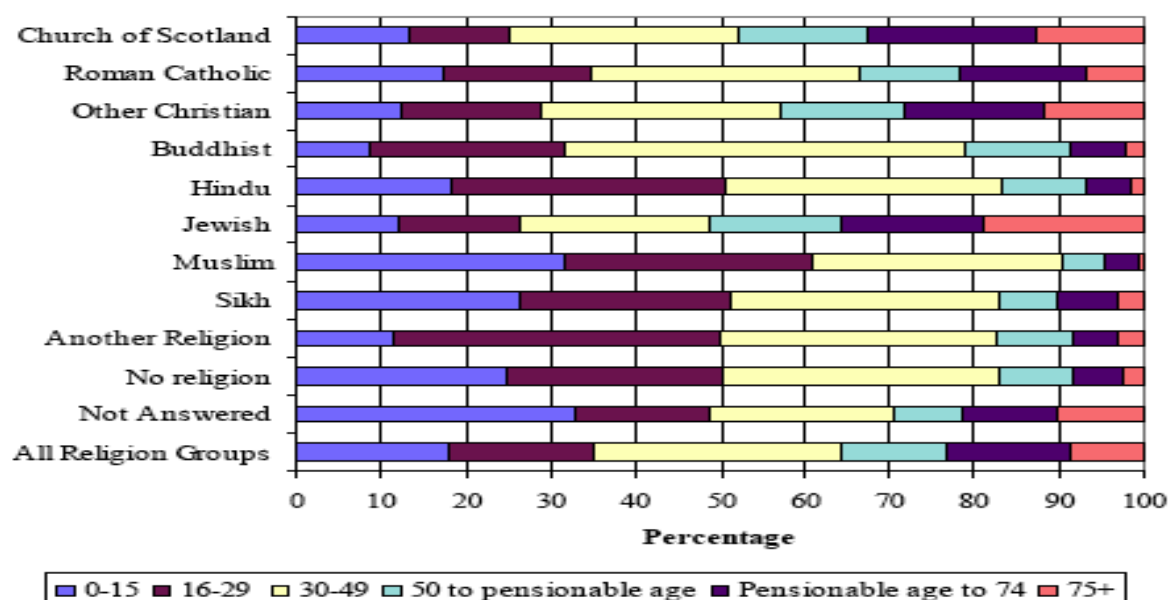


Figure 1.5: Age profile of women by current religion - All Females (Percentages)



Marriage, Household and Accommodation Data

Table 1.1 Marital Status by current religion – All people aged 16 years & over (Percentages)

	Single (never married)	Married (First Marriage)	Re- married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
Church of Scotland	23	49	6	3	7	12
Roman Catholic	33	43	4	4	7	9
Other Christian	26	47	7	3	6	10
Buddhist	40	37	5	4	11	3
Hindu	34	57	2	2	2	3
Jewish	27	45	6	2	7	13
Muslim	30	58	3	4	3	2
Sikh	28	58	3	3	3	5
Another Religion	61	23	4	3	6	2
No religion	42	37	6	4	8	4
Not Answered	37	36	5	4	8	11
All Religion Groups	31	44	6	4	7	9

Education

Figure 1.6: Adults with no qualifications (or qualifications out with those listed in the Census) by current religion - All People aged 16-74 years (Percentages)

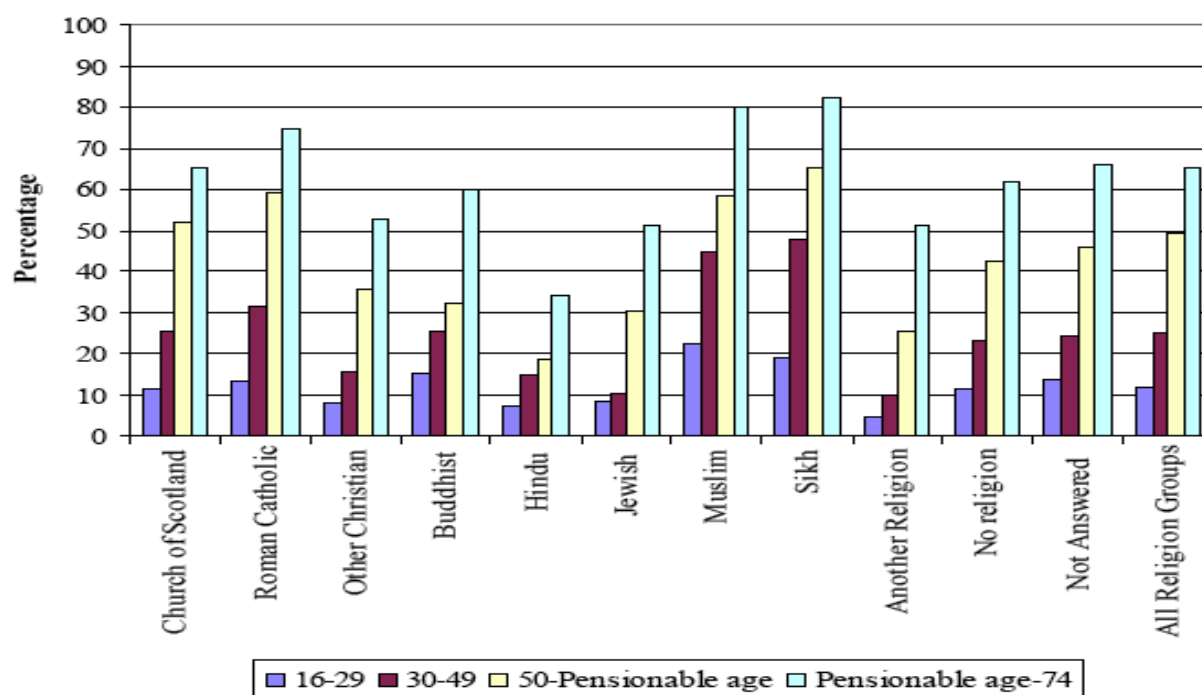
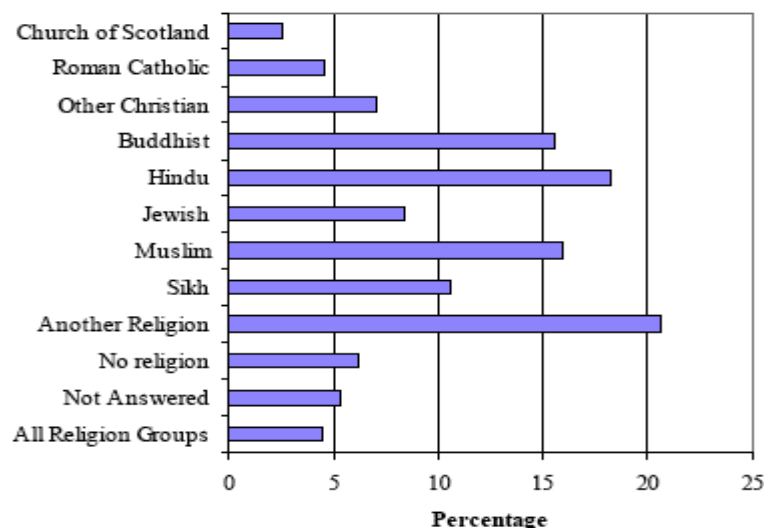


Table 1.2: Highest Level of qualification⁵³ by current religion - All People aged 16-74 years (Percentages)

	No qualifications or qualifications out with these groups	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Base
Church of Scotland	38	25	14	6	16	1,601,665
Roman Catholic	39	24	15	7	16	607,151
Other Christian	25	21	17	7	31	263,520
Buddhist	26	12	15	7	40	6,066
Hindu	14	10	13	5	58	4,589
Jewish	23	15	20	5	37	4,593
Muslim	39	18	14	8	22	28,979
Sikh	42	21	14	7	16	4,668
Another Religion	10	16	30	11	33	23,996
No religion	25	26	18	8	23	1,022,709
Not Answered	31	26	17	7	19	163,143
All Religion Groups	33	25	16	7	19	3,731,079

Figure 1.7: Proportion of full-time students as a percentage of all persons aged 18 years and above by current religion (Percentages)



⁵³ The 2001 Census defined the highest level of qualification as follows:

Group 1: 'O' Grade, Standard Grade, Intermediate 1, Intermediate 2, City and Guilds Craft, SVQ Level 1 or 2 or equivalent.

Group 2: Higher Grade, CSYS, ONC, OND, City and Guilds Advanced Craft, RSA Advanced Diploma, SVQ Level 3 or equivalent.

Group 3: HND, HNC, RSA Higher Diploma, SVQ Level 4 or 5 or equivalent.

Group 4: First Degree, Higher Degree, Professional qualification.

Employment

Figure 1.8: Economic Activity Rate by sex and current religion - All People aged 16-pensionable age (Percentages)

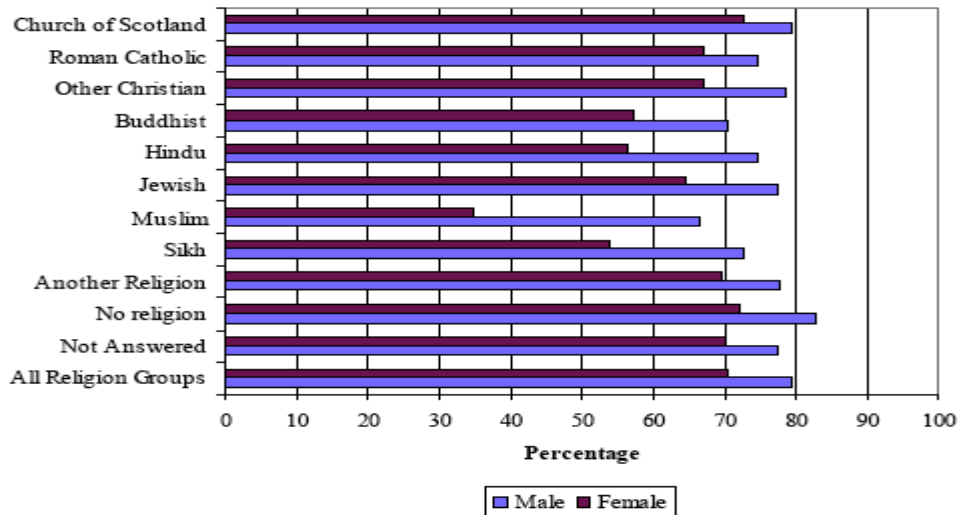


Figure 1.9: People who have never worked by sex and current religion - All People aged 16-pensionable age (Percentages)

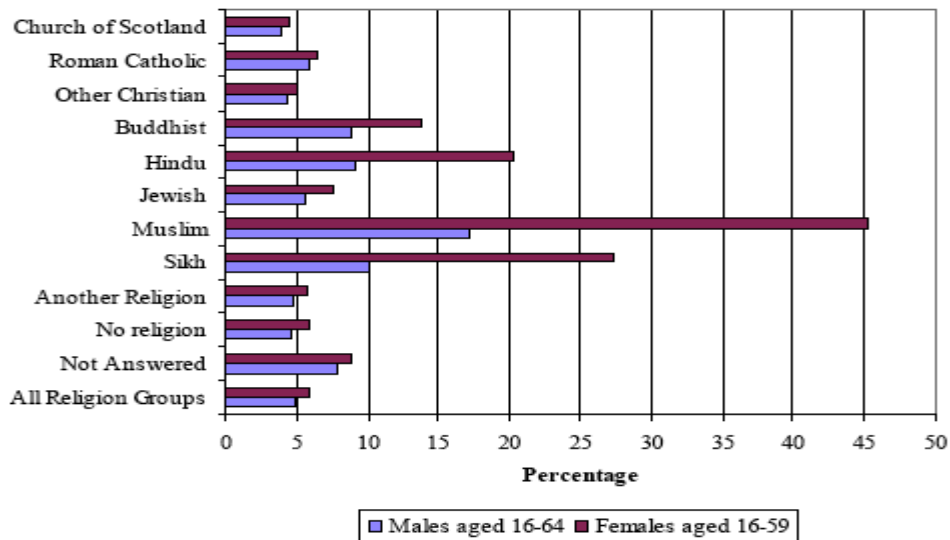
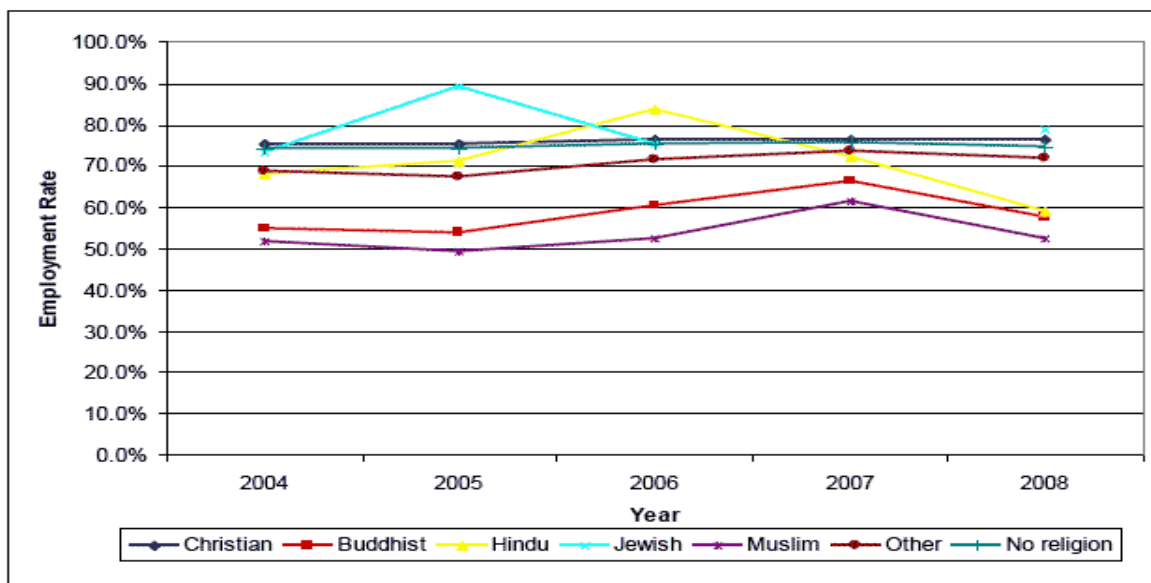


Figure 1.10: Employment rates and levels by religion⁵⁴, Scotland, 2004-2008



Source: Annual Population Survey

Wealth and assets

Table 1.3: Total wealth by Religion of head of household: Great Britain 2006-08

	Median total wealth including pension wealth (£)
Christian (including Church of England, Catholic, Protestant)	223,000
Buddhist	75,000
Hindu	206,000
Jewish	422,000
Muslim	42,000
Sikh	229,000
Any other religion (Please specify)	161,000
No religion	138,000
All	204,000

Source: Wealth and Assets Survey

⁵⁴ Data was not available for Sikhs and Jews due to reliability thresholds.

APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP TOPIC GUIDE - PILOT

The sessions will begin with an overall introduction from the researchers and a short introduction by participants e.g. names, background information; why they decided to attend and any other information they feel is relevant.

It is important to explain to the participants that the purpose of the research is to understand their experiences as young Muslims, what they want for the future, and what they feel could make their life better.

In a previous focus group, some participants expressed their dislike of the term Islamophobia, and therefore we would encourage that the term is not used unless it is specifically brought up by the participants.

Subject themes include the following:

- Identity
- Community
- Islamophobia
- Media and related impacts
- Service provision

The questions present a rough guide to allow scope for other areas relevant to participants to also be discussed:

Identity

We are interested in finding out:

- How do you define your identity? (It may be useful for researchers to explain their perception of their own identity before asking participants to discuss this to facilitate discussion)
- Why do you define your identity as such?
- Do you think your identity differs from that of your parents/previous generation?
- What part does culture and religion play in forming your identity?
- What part does gender play in forming your identity.

Community

We are interested in finding out:

- Do you feel part of any community/communities.
- If yes, what community/communities? If no, what makes you feel this way?
- Do you feel excluded from any communities?
- What would make you feel better able to contribute to the community you live in.

Islamophobia

We are interested in finding out:

- Have you ever experienced any discrimination?
- What part of your identity do you feel was being discriminated?

- Which group do you think is most affected by religious discrimination and why (e.g. young people, older people, men, women, those who identify physically with Islam by wearing Islamic clothing etc)?
- How often do you think about Islamophobia?
- What makes you think about Islamophobia?
- Do you think religious discrimination/Islamophobia is a problem? And why.

Media

We are interested in finding out:

- How do you feel you are represented in the media?
- Do you think the way you are represented is problematic?

Service Provision

We are interested in finding out:

- For those who have experienced religious discrimination/Islamophobia, did you report the incident – in particular to the police or other public service?
- For those who did not report it, why was this?
- What was your experience of reporting the incident?
- Was it dealt with appropriately.
- What support was given to you and by who?
- Do you know where to go for support?
- Do you know of anything that is being done to tackle religious discrimination/Islamophobia?
- How do you think service provision can be improved in regards to religious discrimination/Islamophobia and those who have been affected by such incidents?

APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP TOPIC GUIDE

Introductory Explanation, Ground Rules, Confidentiality

PUT TAPE ON UNLESS YOU DECIDE TO LEAVE IT TILL AFTER INTRO

I'll explain about this tape-recorder in a minute

Can remind you first what the research is about.

We want the group to talk about your experience of being young Muslims in Scotland - how you feel about the place you live and the people around. We are interested in whether people are friendly and fair or not. We will ask some questions to get you started and to introduce topics. The research is being done for Scottish Government. It will be written up as a summary report for them. This is to help inform their campaigns against racism and discrimination. Your names and the name of the school/college will NOT be used in any way.

There are some things to remember during the discussion. We want to hear what you've got to say. It is *your* opinions and discussions with each other that matter and we will try to keep as quiet most of the time. Out of respect for each other, let's try not to interrupt and to let everybody have their say, even if you disagree. But if you do disagree, please say so after the other person has spoken. We're not using anyone's real name and because of that, because of treating who-said-what as confidential, can we all agree that afterwards we won't tell others what particular people said during the discussion? Is everybody happy with that?

We would like to tape record the discussion. The recording will get typed up and each person's voice will be given a pretend name. We might also take notes during the discussion. Remember you don't have to answer or talk about anything you don't want to, and you are free to leave and go back to your usual class or activities at any time.

So I need to check you are all OK with all of that, including the tape being on.

DO NOT FORGET TO PUT THE TAPE ON AND BE SURE IT IS WORKING

So before we get started I'm going to ask each of you to make a pretend name for yourself, and write it on a label and wear it so that we use our pretend names when we are talking to each other.

[HAND OUT LABELS AND PENS] - ONCE THIS IS DONE

ABOUT YOURSELF

So I'm going to ask each of you to say your new name, the area of [city] where you live and one or two other things about yourself that you think are important about you, anything you like but without your real name.

[GO ROUND THE ROOM WITH EVERYBODY INTRODUCING THEMSELVES - WRITE A NOTE OF ALL THE AREAS THAT PEOPLE LIVE by the new name of the person-]

ABOUT SCHOOL/COLLEGE FRIENDS

Let's start with talking about friends as school/college and who hangs out with whom

It often happens that people's friends are people like themselves - but sometimes friendships are between people who are very different. Research on friendship shows that groups of friends who stick together and don't talk much to anyone else often come from the same sort of families. - All the friends have the same sort of family background and circumstances. In some schools and colleges, it is not like that and people mix more.

1. What happens in this school college in your year or class- what are the different friendship groups you can see and how much do people mix?

[PROMPTS What about your own friends? Mainly boys/girls? Mainly Muslims?]

2. Imagine somebody new comes to the school/college to join your classes from another country that you know nothing about, would it make it easier to become friends if their family has the same religion as your family or would it not make much difference?

[PROMPT why/why not?]

ABOUT WHERE YOU LIVE

3. What about the areas where you live. Can you describe whether [READ OUT THE LIST OF DIFFERENT PLACES YOU LIVE]. are good places to be young people like yourselves?

[PROMPTS

4. Do people of lots of different religions and nationalities live there or is it mainly white Scottish non-Muslim people?

5. What is there for young people to do in [NAME OF PLACES YOU LIVE]?

6. Are there places where young people meet in [NAME OF PLACES YOU LIVE] or is it more usual to go to the city centre? What's it like for meeting up if you are staying local?

7. Would it be easy for Muslim young people and non-Muslim young people to meet and hang out together in [NAME OF PLACES YOU LIVE]?

8. Are the nearest Mosques important meeting place for young Muslim men/women living in [NAME OF PLACES YOU LIVE]?

PROMPT Which are the nearest mosques. How often do you think most Muslim young people living in [NAME OF PLACES YOU LIVE] would be likely to go to the mosque?

9. Are there any parts of [NAME OF PLACES YOU LIVE] you would avoid going to or people you would avoid?

[IF TIME IS SHORT SKIP TO NEXT SECTION

10. Sometimes the word 'community' gets used when people feel they have things in common and belong together. Is there anywhere that you feel like you are part of a community?]

ABOUT PEOPLE BEING FRIENDLY AND FAIR OR NOT

The final section is to talk about people being friendly and fair or the opposite unfriendly and unfair. Let's start with college, then where you live or when you are out and about.

11. At school/college are people always friendly and fair or can you describe times when things have gone wrong and people have been unfriendly or unfair to you?

[POSSIBLE PROMPTS Why do you think it happened? Who did you talk to about it at the time?/What did you do? Did anyone help/Was anything done about it? Do others have similar experiences? How often do things like that happen?]

12. Has it ever happened that you or your friends were unfriendly and unfair to others?

[POSSIBLE PROMPTS Why do you think it happened? Who did you talk to about it at the time?/What did you do? Did anyone help/Was anything done about it? Do others have similar experiences? How often do things like that happen?]

13 And where you live, have you ever experienced people being unfriendly or unfair to you or your family?

[POSSIBLE PROMPTS Why do you think it happened? Who did you talk to about it at the time?/What did you do? Did anyone help/Was anything done about it? Do others have similar experiences? How often do things like that happen?]

14 And when you are out and about, in the city centre for example, have you ever experienced people being unfriendly or unfair to you or your friends and family?

[POSSIBLE PROMPTS Why do you think it happened? Who did you talk to about it at the time?/What did you do? Did anyone help/Was anything done about it? Do others have similar experiences? How often do things like that happen?]

15. Do you think any of these examples of experiences might be either racism or prejudice against Muslims?

If the word Islamophobia comes up ask if everybody understands it and they think it is common. If it does not come up, ask if people have ever heard this word and whether it is helpful.

16. If you saw something or were involved in an incident that you thought was racism or prejudice against Muslims what would you do?

[PROMPT When would you get the police in - who else might you tell?]

17. Do you know about anything that is being done to stop racism or prejudice against Muslims and what do you think about what should be done?

PROMPTS Possible examples Advertising Scotland One Country Many Cultures

Show Racism the Red Card

Multi-faith groups

APPENDIX E: SURVEY

Dear Participant,

The purpose of this survey is to find out more about the different Muslim communities in Scotland. The survey is being carried out by the Scottish Government. All answers are being collected anonymously – you do not need to give any information which will identify you. We only ask that you complete the questionnaire honestly from your own understanding and experience. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions, we are interested in everyone's opinions. Anyone who is Muslim can take part in the survey, and we would like as many different people as possible to complete it.

There have already been some surveys carried out with Muslim communities in England and Wales, but similar surveys have not taken place in Scotland. We hope that this survey will help us to understand more about the different Muslim communities in Scotland and the impact that issues like Islamophobia have on these communities. The results of this survey will help the Scottish Government to engage with Muslim communities in Scotland through a better understanding of the issues which concern Scottish Muslims.

Your contribution is therefore very important to us, and we appreciate you taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Personal Information

1. Age Group ☐ under 16 ☐ 16 to 24 ☐ 25 to 33 ☐ 34 to 42 ☐ 43 to 51 ☐ 52 to 60
☐ over 60

2. Gender ☐ Female ☐ Male

3. What is your religious affiliation? ☐ Sunni Please specify:
☐ Shi'a Please specify:

4. Looking at your broad general family history, which country/ies would you say you or your ancestors are from?

5. Can you please specify this further? ☐ Urban Please specify:
☐ Rural Please specify:

6. If applicable, what generation would you describe yourself as?

7. Do you currently live in an urban or rural area? ☐ Urban Please specify:
☐ Rural Please specify:

Islamophobia

8. What do you understand by Islamophobia?

1

9. Do you perceive Islamophobia to be a problem in Scotland, which needs to be addressed? (on a scale ranging from 1= being not at all a serious problem, to 9 = being a very serious problem, with 5 = undecided)

not at all serious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very serious
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

10. Which groups of people, if any, are more likely to experience Islamophobia in Scotland?

- ☐ Women
- ☐ Muslims belonging to certain faith groups. Which ones?
- ☐ Muslims wearing religious dress. Please specify:
- ☐ Muslims of certain ethnicity. Please specify:
- ☐ Muslims living in a particular community/ies. Which ones?
- ☐ Other. Please specify:

11. In which context/environment do you think Islamophobia happens most often?

12. Have you personally been affected by Islamophobia? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, could you please tell us how? ☐ verbal assault ☐ physical assault ☐ social exclusion
☐ other:

If you feel comfortable about describing the incident, please feel free to do so in the space below:

13. Has anyone close to you been affected by Islamophobia? ☐ Yes ☐ No

14. How frequently have you experienced Islamophobia to date?

- ☐ never ☐ once ☐ 2-3 times ☐ 4-9 times ☐ 10-19 times ☐ 20-39 times
☐ more than 40 times ☐ too many times to remember

15. What impact has this had on you?

- ☐ Psychological impact Please explain
- ☐ Fear of recurring assault Please explain
- ☐ Uncomfortable in unknown/public places Please explain
- ☐ Meeting friends less frequently
- ☐ Change of friends
- ☐ Other. Please specify:

16. Have you reported any incidents? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, who did you report the incident to? ☐ Police

☐ School authority

☐ Friend

☐ Relative

☐ Other:

Was it dealt with adequately? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If not, why not?

17. Please list 3 very important ways Islamophobia impacts on you personally, and on Muslim communities in general:

On you personally:

On Muslim Communities:

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Identity

18. There are 9 numbered blanks in the space below. Please write eight answers to the simple question 'Who am I?' in the blanks. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you and don't worry about logic or 'importance'.

1 <input type="text"/>	4 <input type="text"/>	7 <input type="text"/>
2 <input type="text"/>	5 <input type="text"/>	8 <input type="text"/>
3 <input type="text"/>	6 <input type="text"/>	9 <input type="text"/>

3

19. In terms of cultural/ethnic group, I consider myself to be: (tick the most appropriate one or specify 'other')

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish-Muslim | <input type="checkbox"/> Pakistani-Muslim |
| <input type="checkbox"/> British-Muslim | <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish-Bangladeshi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian | <input type="checkbox"/> British-Bangladeshi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish-Asian | <input type="checkbox"/> Bangladeshi-Muslim |
| <input type="checkbox"/> White Muslim | <input type="checkbox"/> Bangladeshi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish-Pakistani | <input type="checkbox"/> Pakistani |
| <input type="checkbox"/> British-Pakistani | <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="text"/> |

20. Do you think your identity differs significantly from the identity of your parents? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, how?

Muslim Identity

21. How important is your Muslim identity to you? (on a scale ranging from 1= being not at all important, to 5 = being very important, with 3 = undecided)

not at all important ☐ ¹ ☐ ² ☐ ³ ☐ ⁴ ☐ ⁵ very important

22. Does your faith differ from your parent's faith? ☐ Yes ☐ No
(for example in terms of strength of faith, or expression)

If yes, how?

23. How engaged are you in your local mosque? (on a scale ranging from 1= being not at all engaged to 5 = being very engaged, with 3 = undecided)

not at all engaged ☐ ¹ ☐ ² ☐ ³ ☐ ⁴ ☐ ⁵ very engaged

If you stated 'Not very engaged at all', why would you say this is?

24. What are the reasons why you attend your local mosque? (tick as many as applicable)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prayer | <input type="checkbox"/> Board Member | <input type="checkbox"/> I don't attend the Mosque |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Youth/Women/
Children's Group | <input type="checkbox"/> Attend religious
festivals | <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="text"/> |

25. What do the people attending your local mosque have in common?

- ☐ Common Faith
- ☐ From the same community
- ☐ Same political affiliation
- ☐ Common ethnicity
- ☐ None of the above
- ☐ Other

Muslim Communities

26. What different Muslim Communities are you aware of in Scotland today?

- ☐ Sunni Please specify:
- ☐ Shi'a Please specify:

27. Do you think Scottish people who are not Muslim understand the different forms the Muslim faith takes? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If not, what could be done to raise awareness of the different forms of Muslim culture in Scotland?

Politics

28. How important is Scottish politics to you? (on a scale ranging from 1= being not at all important to 5 = being very important, with 3 = undecided)

not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 very important
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Why?

29. Do you personally get involved in Scottish Politics?

- ☐ Yes, locally
- ☐ Yes, nationally
- ☐ No, I don't

If yes, how?

30. Is your answer common across your friends of similar age? ☐ Yes ☐ No

31. Does your answer differ significantly from the answer of your parents? (in terms of engagement, political membership etc) ☐ Yes ☐ No

Why do you think that is?

Inter-faith Work

32. Are you aware of Scotland's inter-faith work? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Which ones?

33. Do you think there is a value for different faiths working together in Scotland? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, please let us know what you appreciate about it most

If not, why not?

Thank you very much for your time and effort in filling out this questionnaire. You should be able to obtain a stamped envelope from the organisation which handed out this questionnaire. Alternatively, if you have filled out this questionnaire electronically, please print and return it by Friday the 12th of September to the address below.

If there is anything else you would like to share with us, either use the space below, or contact me at the address to the right.

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APPENDIX E: LITERATURE REVIEW BIBLIOGRAPHY

Author(s)	Year	Publication	Methodology (n)	Location
Abbas, T.	2005	Journal article	Synthesising of primary research	N/A
Ameli and Merali	2004	Research report	Quantitative survey (1125) Interviews (37)	Britain
Ameli et al.	2004	Research report	As above	As above
Ahmed, S.	2009	Research report	Focus groups (9) Interviews (9) Literature review	various
Ansari, H.	2002	Research report	Secondary analysis	Britain
Bailey, N.	1995	Journal article	Secondary analysis of Census data	Scotland
Bartlett et al	2010	Research report	Interviews (166) secondary analysis Archival data analysis	International/UK
Blick et al	2007	Research report	Secondary analysis, scoping study	Britain
Bromley et al	2007	Research report	Survey (1594)	Scotland
Bywaters et al	2003	Journal article	Interviews (19)	England
Cassidy, C.	2006	Research report	Survey (134) Interviews	Glasgow
Clegg and Rosie	2005	Research report	Focus groups (11) Interviews (9) Questionnaire (157)	Glasgow
Change Institute	2009	Research report	Quantitative and qualitative interviews (220) focus groups (30)	England
Choudhury et al	2004	Research report	Consultations with organisations Interviews	Britain
Clayton, T.	2005	Journal article	Interviews (56)	Scotland

Croot et al	2008	Journal article	Interviews (16)	England
DeLima, P	2005	Book chapter	Secondary analysis	Scotland
El-Nakla et al	2007	Research report	Focus groups (150 women)	Scotland
Equal Opportunities Commission	2007	Research report	Survey, focus groups Interviews, secondary analysis	Britain
EU-MIDIS	2009	Research report	Survey (27,500)	Europe
EUMC	2006	Research report	Official data (10 member states)	Europe
Frondigoun, E.	2007	Research report	Statistical and Literature review Interviews (17) Focus groups (12)	Edinburgh & Glasgow
Gale, R.	2007	Journal article	Theoretical	N/A
Garland, J.	2005	Journal article	Theoretical	N/A
Göle, N.	2003	Journal article	Theoretical	N/A
Hampton, K.	2001	Journal article	Focus groups (13)	Glasgow
Hopkins, P.	various	Journal article	Focus groups (11) Interviews (22)	Edinburgh & Glasgow
Hussain and Miller	2006	Book chapter	Survey – SSAS and BSAS	Scotland, England, Wales
Hussain and Choudhury	2007	Research report	Secondary analysis	Europe/England
Jayaweera and Choudhury	2008	Research report	Interviews (319)	England
Lewis, P.	2007	Book	Synthesising of primary and secondary analysis	England
Maan, B.	1992	Book	Secondary analysis	Scotland
Masud, M.	2005	Research report	Focus groups (4)	Scotland
Modood, T.	2005	Book	Theoretical	Britain
Qureshi and Moores	1999	Journal article	Interviews (15) Field observations	Edinburgh
Rolfe and Metcalf	2009	Research report	Secondary analysis	Scotland

Saeed, A	1999	Journal article	Interviews (63)	Glasgow
Sheridan, L	2006	Journal article	Survey (222)	Britain
Siraj	2009	Journal article	Interviews (25 couples)	Glasgow
Siraj	2010	Journal article	Interviews (68)	Glasgow
Sundas, A.	2008	Research report	Secondary analysis	N/A
Virdee et al	2006	Research report	Interviews (52)	Glasgow
Weller et al.	2001	Research report	Survey (628) Interviews (156)	England and Wales

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